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were comfortably settled in homes on individual plots remained on them and worked them faithfully. Living in houses, they were soon asking for tables and chairs and bedsteads. Ponies being their chief form of property, the homesteaders would offer ponies for cooking stoves and culinary implements. Some exchanged ponies for hogs. A great change was coming into Pawnee life.

The chiefs, priests and medicine men stubbornly opposed the change. Their resistance was strengthened by lax and inefficient methods of government officials. Agents were political appointees, subject to the changing winds of political control. In the eight-year period from 1876 to 1884 seven agents were successively in charge of the Pawnee. The indications are that often they were lax and indolent, occasionally viciously dishonest. The great suffering for lack of adequate provisions in the early years was in part a result of such maladministration. In 1883 supervision became worse, when the independent Pawnee agency was merged into a combined agency for the Ponca, Pawnee and Oto (later to include the Tonkawa), which was located at Ponca City, many miles from the Pawnee Reservation. Only one or two days of the week could be spent with the Pawnee. The agency fell into disrepair, and procrastination ruled in the affairs of the Pawnee.

On the positive side there were the younger progressive spirits among the Pawnee themselves, who worked untiringly to persuade the people to adjust themselves to new conditions. They found opposition not only in their own ranks, but among white people in the Territory, who, sympathetic to Indian ideas, urged the Pawnee here and there to resist allotments.

The Skiri were the most progressive of the four bands. By 1887 a great many families were located on farms distributed all over the reservation, and a large proportion of these were Skiri. By 1890 most of the Skiri lived on their own farms, furnished their houses and dressed like white people, and spoke English in ordinary intercourse. The Tcawi ran them a close second. Of the other bands, while most were on allotted tracts, there were still many earth-lodges in evidence, and only those who were being educated in the schools were dressing and acting like white people. The Pitahawirat[a] proved most conservative and resisted change longest.

By the close of the decade the chiefs had accepted the inevitable. They blocked the agent in some minor measures, but for the most part expressed themselves eager to see the people educated and civilized. Officials were able to report that the tribe was anxious to have an allotting officer come to the reservation to register their individual tracts and issue certificates: the people were puzzled

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Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. Toward the close of this period the government program called for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them; that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies"; and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence, and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony); he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were "laid by"; the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and difficult. The government was determined to destroy their power over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the

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agency physician. Unfortunately, except in a small part of the cases, the physician was notoriously unsuccessful in combating the diseases which were decimating the tribe; certainly he seemed no more successful than the native medicine man. The physician's services, paid for by government salary, were free to the people who sought his aid, while the native medicine man was paid in property by the patients he cured. Considering the medicine men charlatans and fakers, who deceived and befuddled the people, the officials regarded the customary compensation as extortion. But in spite of official antagonism the tribe was not drawn altogether away from their doctors: the Doctor Dances continued to be demonstrated, constituting practically the only major religious ceremonies which were demonstrated; and as late as 1888 an agent reported that the Pawnee "still have more confidence in their medicine men than the Queen of England has in McKenzie."

From a material standpoint, the close of this period found the Pawnee in a condition of partial adjustment to the new order, and relative prosperity. Most of the people were scattered on their farms, and doing well; they were accumulating stock around them. Between their government funds and their produce the tribe was practically self-sustaining.

In 1890 Grinnell described conditions upon the reservation: "As we came in sight of Black Bear Creek, I was surprised to see what looked like good farm houses dotting the distant bottom. . . . Most well-to-do . . . Pawnees live in houses as good as those of many a New England land owner, and, . . . better than those inhabited by new settlers in the farther West. Many . . . have considerable farms under fence, a barn, a garden in which vegetables are raised, and a peach orchard . . . By far the greater number wear civilized clothing, ride in wagons, and send their children to the agency school . . .[1]"

If their material life was at last approaching peace and security for the handful of Pawnee (759 in 1892) who had survived the long history of disasters, plagues and abuse, to what are we to attribute the revulsion against conditions which expressed itself in 1892 in the Ghost Dance? Before considering this aspect of the history of Pawnee acculturation, which will concern us in the next chapter, let us turn briefly to a recapitulation of the status of Pawnee culture in 1892.

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero-Stories and Folk-Tales, pp. 400—401.

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787 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs
796 of European culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were
796 the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles,
178 and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle
● [756] ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle
[764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met; a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[a], the main bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

[a] The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

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a vision. I saw Bear Chief wearing the bear robe over his shoulders and the bear claw neckpiece around his neck. He was painted with yellow earthen clay, and had black streaks from each eye down the face. He said, 'My sister, Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) have not had any smoke for many years. We (dead people) are watching for our people to have the ceremony. The people think the ceremony is lost. It is not, for one of the Bear men who knows the ceremony is still with you. I ask that you tell the people so that they can have the ceremony, for it is time.' I woke up and the last few days have been crying to think that I should be the one to tell you. I have a cow which you can have so you can have the ceremony."[1]

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"The leaders of the Bear ceremony each in their turn arose, went to the woman and blessed her... They said, 'My sister, this is very hard. None of us know the ceremony, but Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) will plan a way themselves so we can have the ceremony...

"Some days later the members of the Bear society met and compared their knowledge of the ceremony. When all had spoken a man named Big Star... questioned the others as to their knowledge of the ceremony. He found that none in the meeting knew the ceremony. So he said, 'Brothers, this is hard. You see I am paralyzed, and I could not sit and carry the ceremony out. If you will all agree I will try it. Before we do anything we must select men to be the leaders. You and I know that there are some men here who are descendants of deceased men who were leaders in the Bear Society...' So he selected... Little Warchief... Little Sun.... Good Buffalo.... and Roaming Chief..."

(These men were then ceremonially inducted into office. Big Star then seated himself with these leaders at the altar, and made arrangements to collect among the people the ceremonial utensils, etc. for a set of things needed to carry out the ceremony).

"When all the others had gone out, Big Star told the four men to watch as he carried on the ceremony, that he would carry on the ceremony for them. He also told that Tirawahat[a] had planned through the woman for them to have the ceremony, so he was willing to carry the ceremony on for them without pay; that in olden times men paid to learn the secrets of the Bear ceremony, especially in going after Mother Cedar-tree; that he himself did not purchase the right to carry the ceremony on, but that Bear Chief who was the last man to know the ceremony had given him the

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[1] Indicating that the one whose vision caused the revival felt obligated at the same time to put up the ceremony.

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right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief.

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony). "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

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was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904. The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and continual dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival had regained their status with the people.

The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them. They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came. Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibility, with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil: it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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The medicine men claimed to have received their power from supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies. Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers attributed to them."[9]

According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were connected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The dominating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky. The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west, Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that "next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme among whom is the North-Star, Kararíwari (One-who-does-not-move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

[9] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men, Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.
[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.
[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xlx.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

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The medicinemen of the Pawnee were members of several permanent organizations. Once a year, late in the summer, each tribal division held a grand medicine ceremony lasting twenty days or more which though in many respects a tribal affair had a permanent organization. Its leaders were assumed to be the grand masters of shamanism and to know the secrets of all other societies. At another time during the season the doctor's dance is held, a general one-day ceremony for which there is also an organization. Independent of these ceremonies were a number of societies composed of one or two great medicinemen, a few students and a considerable number of attached members who took part in the dancing, but were not otherwise acquainted with the secrets. These organizations usually held ceremonies twice a year, early in the spring and late in the autumn. These were ritualistic ceremonies, the underlying conception of which seems to be the purification and the renewing of the powers resident in the sacred objects belonging to their craft. The Skidi maintained two large earth-lodges, one in the east and one in the west for these ceremonies and it is these lodges that were popularly known as the grand medicine lodges. The one in the west seems to have been the original lodge and the one most often used.

At the sound of the first thunder in spring, the members of the medicine societies like the keepers of bundles, take out all their regalia and implements, purify them in a smudge of sweetgrass and perform a prescribed ceremony. The next day the regular ceremony begins. The altar in the medicine lodge is prepared and in front of it are set up the two sacred loons, facing east. Two wooden bowls are filled with blue earth and soot, with which the members paint. As in other ceremonies, the seats are in two sides, with the leaders and all other officers paired. Each side has a buffalo rawhide to beat upon and about a dozen gourd rattles are at hand for the use of the dancers. There are also two water drums.

The first ceremonies are dances to the mythical water monster. The leader for the north side opens, then the leader for the south, and so on in turn around the circle. As this proceeds, people may enter and make offerings of property to the loons at the altar and also make presents to individual dancers.

Then the regular Pawnee smoke offering is made. Each medicineman then in turn brings a filled pipe to the altar and makes the offering. A herald then goes out and invites all who had given presents (only men who

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

have consecrated buffalo or performed certain deeds can smoke at any time) to come with their pipes. All who wish, enter in turn and offer their pipes. As these offering ceremonies are in reality prayers, this is regarded as the best time to plead for success in all things and this is also the motive in bringing in property and presents.

Another period of singing and dancing closes the ceremony, after which the medicinemen divide the presents. Kettles of corn are brought in and the bowls for the feast. The leaders fill the bowls for their sides and make a special offering before the bowls are passed. Meat is then brought in and handled in a similar manner.

A somewhat similar ceremony is held in the autumn but this time in a circular shelter of green boughs suggesting the sun dance enclosure of the Dakota.

While the medicinemen's societies were not recognized as such in the twenty-day ceremony, they were sure to have among their members famous medicinemen who would set up their booths in the lodge. Usually one of these was the leader of a society and around him the members would gather and assist in staging his tricks. The members of a society were really students from whose ranks the leading places were filled in times of need.

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

	Skiff	Chauf	Pitahaufrata	Kit'kahárki	Squash Vine
Twenty-day Ceremony (tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand)	×	×	×	×	×
Doctor Dance (kurau)	×	×	×	×	–
Bear Society (pitararis kuruks)	×	×	×	×	–
Buffalo Doctors (kura taraha)	×	×	–	–	–
Deer Society (raris ta)	×	×	×	×	–
Blood Doctors (kura patu)	×	–	–	–	–
Iruska Society (pitararis iruska)	×	–	×	–	–
One Horn Dance (raris arika)	×	×	×	×	×

THE TWENTY-DAY CEREMONY.

Once a year, late in the summer, each division had a grand medicine ceremony. This lasted from twenty to thirty days and was an intense

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affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the following general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidí and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

Among the Skidí there is a special feature since they are not content with merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares. The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidí the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidí plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morningstar; the many small images, stars. 184 532 756

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidí, two loons are used, for the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few clowns dressed like wolves. 778 796 756 796 [522]

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed. [171]

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The Bear Society.

756 Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large [301] black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw necklaces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the [789] wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place [302] their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with [53] very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in [264] the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

Buffalo Doctors.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as [178] kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

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dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes.

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws. The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

The Deer Society.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental elements of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

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are placed in a pile and later given to the donor of the blanket. Other shamanistic feats may occur, but seem to be individual and entirely optional.

As in other societies of this class the members bring their professional bundles to the ceremony and display their contents. The regalia peculiar to the society are large whistles, to symbolize the elk, and foxskins carried

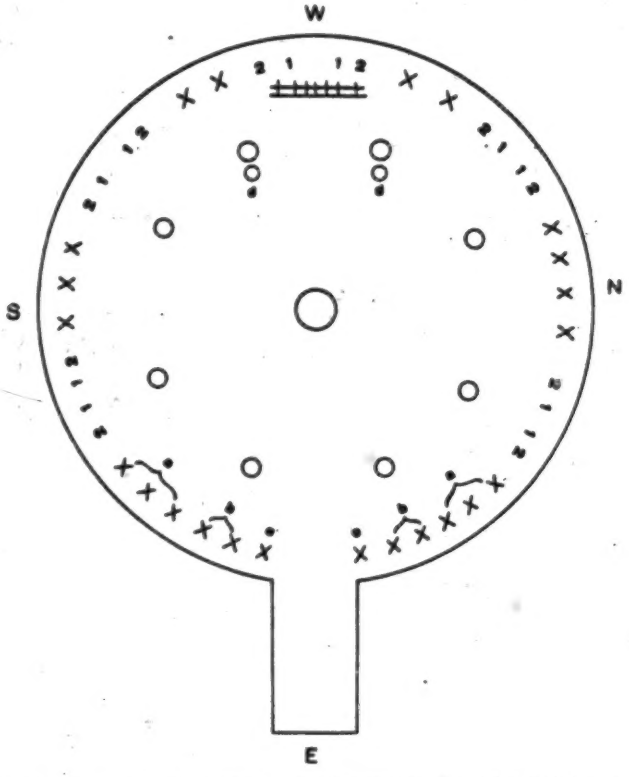

Fig. 16. Diagram of the Buffalo Doctors' Ceremony: a, Chiefs; b, old men; c, errand men; d, place of the drums when not in use. The leaders of the ceremony sit at the west but on each side are two pairs of alternate leaders to whom the drums are shifted as the ritual requires.

by the neck when dancing. A few members wear braided buffalo hide ropes into which feathers are woven and some carry wings of birds.

The order of seating is shown in Fig. 17. It differs slightly from the preceding for the leaders sit, not at the west of the door as is usual, but on the

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south side. The seats west of the door are occupied by chiefs who are paired according to the two sides of the lodge. In front of the permanent leaders are laid four bows and four gourd rattles, the latter painted white. These bows and rattles are shifted at intervals to the alternating groups of leaders as previously described.

The regular ceremony is held once a year when the wild sage plant reaches

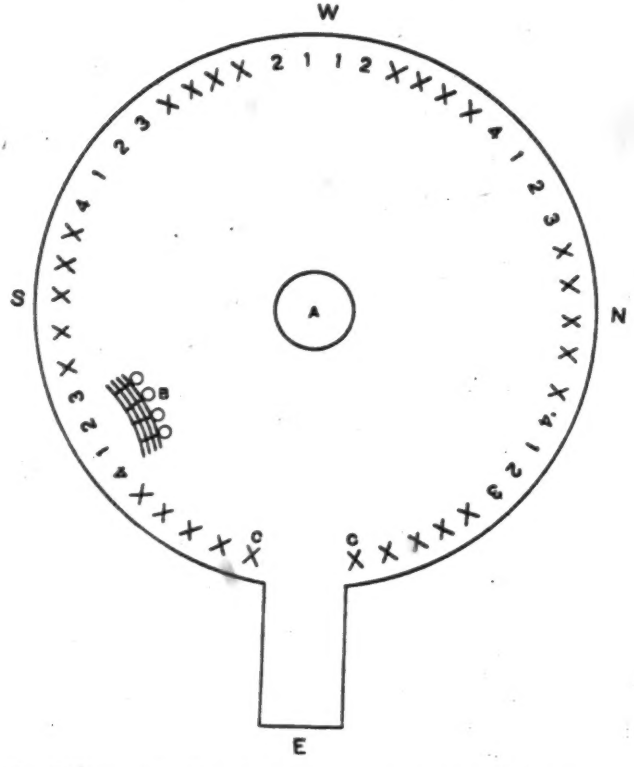

Fig. 17. Diagram of the Deer Society Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, four bows upon which rest four rattles for the leaders; C, errand men. The unusual feature of this ceremony is the place of the leaders and their order of rank; as the ritual proceeds B is shifted to the other four numbered places on the south side, then across and down the north side. At the west 1-2, 1-2 are hereditary chiefs from villages of the respective sides.

a certain stage of maturity. This plant is spread thickly around the lodge and used in the incense offerings.

It is of interest to note that the members of this society are renowned

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snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

Blood Doctors.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

The Iruska.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauí known as the pitararis iruska. However, the Pítahauírata division was also represented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauí the north. The Skidí had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidí did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the Skidí at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for they treated burns.

Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

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The man in question, Crow-feather, was very peculiar. He never took part in ceremonies; he never consecrated buffalo to propitiate the gods. Every night he went out in the hills, gazed at the sky, wondering at the powers there. When he was sleepy he lay down near the altar in his lodge. Before daylight, he went out into the hills again and sat facing the east. When the sun was high in the heavens he returned home. 539 756

One afternoon, when he went out and sat on a high hill overlooking the cornfields, he noticed black smoke rising. At dusk, the smoke was still rising. This caused him to wonder for he knew the people should be home at that time.

He went where he had seen the smoke rising and found some strange people sitting round the fire, laughing at one another as they roasted corn. When the corn husks burned, one of the men tore them off holding the corn until his hands burned. They all laughed at this. The man watched them for some time. When anyone dropped the hot corn, the others laughed and cried, "He is not an iruska." After a time, they sang four songs, repeating each four times. The men then played with the fire with their bare hands. Crow-feather soon learned the songs.

One of the men who acted as a servant saw Crow-feather looking on outside the circle. He arose and whispered to a man sitting at the west who appeared to be the leader. The servant asked Crow-feather to come within the circle and told him he would learn something from them. He was asked to remove his buffalo robe and other clothing and enter the circle, naked. He sat on the north side of the fire.

The leader said to him, "Brother, you have been wandering over the hills for some time. We heard your cries and were sad and agreed to pity you and give you a new dance. You will call this dance, iruska (fire inside of all things). Before we impart our secrets you must pass through something difficult. If you do we will teach you our secrets and you will know what fire is."

A bucket of water rested on the fire. The men now began to sing while four of them rose and danced, holding corn husks in their right hands. They danced around the fire toward the bucket of water. They pretended to be attacking an enemy. Finally, they dipped the corn husks into the boiling water and swung them against Crow-feather, scalding him. When the people noticed that he paid no attention to his burns, they shouted, trying to frighten him that way. This too was of no avail. They seized him and held him over the fire. He screamed but they held him and rolled him on the hot coals. After a time he ceased his clamor for he no longer felt the pain. Finally, they took him back to his place.

Another song was sung and all the men around the fire attacked it, now charging it and now retreating. During the third charge, Crow-feather noticed that the screaming and grunting was as of birds and animals. At the fourth charge, he saw that the dancers were imitating animals and birds. As they moved hastily toward the fire he saw each one drop something into it. They turned quickly: some flew away in the shape of eagles, turkeys, and crows, and others ran away as deer, wolves, and dogs. The remainder ran to the pile of burned corn and disappeared.

By this time, the fire was almost burned out. Crow-feather gathered some dry willows and rekindled it. One man stood where the singers had been, and said, "Brother, you must now return to your home. Take four ears of burned corn with the husks on. Tomorrow you must go to the hill where you sat so often. The people you saw here will come and explain what happened to you tonight. Now, go."

He went home. That night he did not sleep well but dreamed of fire. He wrapped up the four burnt ears of corn and placed them on the lodge wall. The

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756 next day he went to his usual place on the hill and sat facing east. For a long time he waited there. He knew he had been among strange beings for there were blisters all over his body. While he sat there he heard crows calling, eagles screaming, and turkeys gobbling; wolves howled, dogs barked, and he heard the rattle of deer hoofs. He paid no attention to these sounds, but presently he heard someone walking. The steps came nearer and stopped behind him. He did not look up, but a voice said, "Brother, I came for you, follow me." He rose, turned around; and saw ahead of him a man whom he followed. He was lead through a ravine to a steep bank where they entered. Here the same people he had seen the day before were seated around a fire, singing. Nothing was said but he was given a seat at the south, near the fireplace.

The four men who had tortured him before rose and each took corn husks from a wooden bowl. They danced toward him and struck him on the back with the husks. Then they replaced them in the wooden bowl. Before dancing toward him again they dipped their hands into the contents of the bowl. They moved their hands toward him but failed to touch him. At this point the singing ceased and they asked him to rise. The four men led him to the bowl and rubbed the contents over his head, ears, nose, mouth, and feet. They put his hands into the mixture and he held them there a while. Then they led him back to his place south of the fireplace. Screaming and shouting, he was gradually pushed toward the fire. Finally, they put him on the fire and when they took him off painted him with red paint mixed with roots. Then he was given a place within the circle.

In the evening the dance was repeated, Crow-feather joining the others. When all was over the dancers disappeared in the form of birds and animals. One man only, the leader of the dance, remained. He asked Crow-feather to sit near him and said, "Brother I am a human being. This is my home. I cannot go among our people, for I have no scalplock. Some time ago our people were attacked and on the retreat I was thrown by my pony and stunned. When I revived my scalplock was gone. I had been scalped by the enemy. When I looked around I saw sitting about me, crows, eagles, wolves, and dogs. At night, the wolves lay near me. I wandered over the prairies for I knew I could not return to my people. I dreamed of the birds and animals and decided to try to follow the wolves. I was led to this cave and here the birds and animals came and taught me mysterious things. I stay here and procure my food from our people at night when they are asleep."

"When the birds had taught me they wished me to return home and teach our people what I had learned. When I told them I could not return because I lost my scalplock they said they would give me a headdress which was even more important than a scalplock.

The deer furnished the hair for weaving; the turkey, feathers from his breast to edge the deer hair (also the roots for dyeing it); and the eagle a single feather for the center of the headdress. The bone spreader for the hair I was told to get from the shoulder blade of a deer. They told me to get a two-inch shank bone to set on this. The eagle feather was to be passed through this and tied to the scalplock. When I had procured the materials for the headdress I was ready to make it but did not know how to proceed. I slept and in a vision, saw myself preparing the headdress. The next day I knew how to make it. When it was completed, with the strings on the bones and eagle feathers, I found I could not wear it, I had no scalplock. The animals were distressed at this. They met again and gave me materials for a belt: deerskin, crow feathers, and a wolf tail. I made this. Now I will give them to you to take home."

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He went to the altar and took from the wall the headdress and the bustle. The belt consisted of a strip of deerskin to the middle of which were fastened three sticks about two feet long and decorated with deer hair. At each end of the opposite side hung two sets of crow feathers with wolf tails between each two feathers.

He gave these to Crow-feather with instructions to take them home and return the next day with his pipe and tobacco. When he returned to his lodge the people asked where he had been, but he did not reply. When his mother offered him food, he asked for a piece of tanned hide in which he placed the bustle and headdress and tied the bundle to the lodge wall.

Early the next morning, he returned to the cave where the man awaited him and said, "Fill the pipe and let us smoke." After they had smoked and the ashes were thrown away, the stranger said, "During your wanderings and peculiar behavior I was with you. I caused you to wander; I like your ways. The men in your village are attentive to women. You are not and for that reason I liked you. Those who wish to learn this dance must avoid women. If married men are to take part in a dance where fire is attacked, they must have no intercourse with their wives for thirty days. They must bathe every morning and evening. Now, I will show you the herbs and roots you must rub on your body when you dance; also the kind of wood you are to use in your fire. The wood and roots are brothers, that is, the roots rubbed on the body make anyone impervious to fire."

They walked on the prairie and finally the man said, "Place four pinches of tobacco on the plant before digging the root." After this he had the privilege of digging as many plants as he wished for they had received tobacco. They returned to the cave and cut up the roots. In the meantime, the stranger instructed him in the performance of the dance. After the roots were dried, they were pounded up, mixed, and placed in a buckskin bag. He said, "This is the way you must prepare the medicine." Before the root is rubbed on the body, it should be put in a wooden bowl filled with water in which four live coals have been placed. Dip some of this up with a small buffalo horn spoon and put it in a wooden bowl and it is ready for use. If an enemy should attack your village do not mix the medicine in a bowl, chew some of the root, take it in your hands, and rub them on a kettle that is covered with soot and then rub the soot on your joints. You will hav no fear of the enemy's fire. If anyone is burned by fire or scalded, chew some of the root and place it upon the affected part and the cure will be immediate. After a time the medicine may be mixed in a bowl and the burnt part bathed with the concoction. After the wound has dried, you must kill a dog, mix the grease from the dog's body with the medicine and apply it to the wound. This will hasten the cure. If a man be wounded in battle, he must chew the root and bathe the wound with a mixture of roots and charcoal. After this the mixture of root and grease should be applied. This is all I can do for you now, but come to me once in a while. I will always be with you. You may now take what I have given you and return to your people."

Crow-feather went home. The next day he returned to the cave and found the man sitting near the fire. He thanked him for what he had done. He gave him presents and said "Brother, I brought these things for you have done a great thing for me." The mysterious man thanked him.

Crow-feather went home. Several days later he determined to see whether the medicinemen understood the fire. He built a sweat lodge of eighteen willow poles. From the hill he brought back limestone which he

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539 placed near the entrance to the sweat lodge. In the center he built a fire-
● 756 place. He put the stones in the fire. When the stones were red hot he sent a messenger to invite eight medicinemen. Buffalo robes were spread over the lodge. When the medicineman arrived he greeted each one saying, "Nawa", and asked him to be seated.

When everyone had arrived, he addressed them, saying, "Brothers, I have made a sweat lodge. The stones are red hot. I sent for you that you may go into the sweat lodge with me. I will cover the sweat lodge with tanned hides and buffalo robes." He covered the lodge and told the men to take off their clothes; he took his off and went into the sweat lodge. He appointed one man as assistant who now carried the hot stones into the lodge and put them on the fireplace. When everything was ready he said, "Brothers, I invited you into this sweat lodge for I have heard of your wonderful doings in the medicine lodge. I brought the timber which now stands over you; I gathered up our grandfathers who were seated upon mother earth and now they are ready to blow their hot breath upon us. The water is before us. We are seated in a dark place. Each of you prepare yourselves, for no one must leave because of the heat. We are now imitating animals and birds."

Each man took his medicine from his belt and chewed it. The owner of the sweat lodge chewed some root and spat four times on the stones, causing a bluish flame to spring up. Then he said, "Brothers, everything is ready. Our grandfathers (the stones) are now ready to listen to us." Every man held out his hands toward the stones and prayed. After the prayers, the owner dipped up water with a wooden ladle and poured it on the stones four times. He told them to wave the bunches of wild sage which they held in their hands. Some of the men enjoyed the heat while others appeared to be in pain. Those who had not applied any medicine suffered most. The owner of the lodge sang and when he stopped, the men who disliked the heat crawled out of the lodge, only four men remaining.

When all was over the owner of the sweat lodge told the four men that he had selected them as singers for a new dance. After they had dressed and eaten he sent them home.

The people began to hold medicine ceremonies during which sleight-of-hand tricks were performed. One night the crow imitators performed. They built a fire and put a large stone on it. When it was red hot they put it on the ground and each man stood on the stone. When all the medicine performances were over Crow-feather brought together men he knew who understood fire and taught them fire songs.

In the winter the people hunted buffalo. When they were near the buffalo he invited the four men he had selected for singers and told them

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he wished one of them to kill a male buffalo whose flesh would be dried and used in a new dance. The man chosen killed the buffalo and the meat was brought to Crow-feather's tipi where it was dried and stored in a parfleche. When they returned to the village, he invited the four singers who came and sat around the fireplace. He said, "Brothers, I have invited you to my tipi. We are going to have a new dance. Before we begin, bring your medicine bags here. Each man must have before him his root for overpowering fire."

They brought their bags and set them down. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, you are about to learn my secret. I must see what medicine you have for overcoming fire. When I have seen your medicine I will show you mine." He showed his root. Some picked up live coals after applying the medicine to their hands. One man chewed the root, took up a coal with his teeth and lit another man's pipe. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, I am glad. I know you understand the medicine you have. You will help me. I can do as you have done. I will show you my medicine to prove I am not deceiving you." He put a root on the ground, went to the opposite side of the tipi and put a stick with coals on the ground; the root began to move around the fireplace until it stopped at the fire stick. The men were astonished and called the root, "Medicine walking around the fireplace." He put the medicine back in his bag and asked the men to return to his lodge in the evening so he could teach them some songs.

In the evening, they sat at the altar where there were four water drums. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, we are to have a new dance, a medicineman's dance, and not a war dance. I have decided that a chief shall lead us so the smoke ceremony may be held before the dance. Now, we will prepare. For thirty days we must not go near our women. We must take a bath in the creek every day and clean our finger nails. That is all. We will get the drums now and sing."

They sang forty times, ten sets of songs for each time. They were told to announce the dance and its requirements to the village.

After thirty days Crow-feather had his tipi prepared, all its furnishings were moved out. Two poor boys, Blue-bird and White-fox, were selected as assistants. White-fox made a fire for the new dance. The boys sat near the entrance and Crow-feather sat at the altar. The bustle and headdress hung from posts. When he had smoked, he said, "Blue-bird and White-fox, each of you take a pony and bring a lot of dry willows and some cottonwood. I will also send six women for wood." They did as they were told. The wood was placed inside the lodge on either side of the entrance.

Blue-bird was sent for Pitarnysare (Man-chief) and White-fox invited the other singers. The chief sat on the north side near the singers. Crow-feathers said, "Singers, I invited our chief to be with us so he can always

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539 756 partake of our food. Chief, I ask you to lead in the ceremony we are about to have. We need a leader who is keeper of a sacred bundle who can bring the pipe and hold the smoke ceremony. Take pity on me and bring your pipe this evening so the gods may receive the smoke, for it is from the heavens that we have the knowledge of roots and herbs."

The chief replied, "I will do as you wish. I am thankful to be with you and witness what is about to take place. The sacred bundle belongs to the people, for the gods gave us the bundle with the pipe so we could offer them smoke in our ceremonies."

Crow-feather passed his hands over the chief's head and hands, thanked him and said, "Singers and assistants, the chief has consented to bring the sacred pipe. He will be our leader in everything. He will lead us and carry the sacred pipe when we dance through the village. He will not take part in our fire performance. I will teach him our secrets so that he may know what to do if he is requested to do something with the fire." The chief was glad and thanked Crow-feather who told the men to go home and return in the evening.

When Crow-feather and his two assistants were alone he asked them to cover the entrance of the lodge with a skin tent. Then they partook of their evening meal. The chief returned with the sacred pipe and he was given a place to the north of the singers. The pipe was placed in front of the singers who sat at the altar. The assistants built a fire. Crow-feather sat near the singers, and asked how many were prepared to join them. There were sixteen in all, so they could sit in four groups of four each. The assistants were sent for the candidates who were to wait outside and for two of the soldiers who were to remain outside and warn off any intruders.

Crow-feather said, "Singers and other members of the iruska society, we must now begin our ceremony. The chief will fill his pipe and offer smoke to the gods in the heavens." The chief filled the pipe, gave it to the north assistant who took it to the leading singer who said, "Now, iruska, the gods in the heavens will receive the smoke. We will ask our chief to make the smoke offering." The chief rose, went to the altar, and received the pipe from the leading singer. He walked to the east, holding the pipe bowl in his left hand. When half way to the entrance and fireplace he stopped, took a pinch of tobacco from the bowl, raised it toward the east, and placed the tobacco on the ground. He walked west by way of the north and stood near the fireplace, facing east, took some tobacco from the bowl, and offered it to the skies, to tirawahat. Then he placed the tobacco on the rim of the fireplace. He repeated this for each direction. The chief walked northeast of the fireplace by way of the south and sat down. The south assistant placed a coal on the pipe bowl. The chief walked to the

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east with the pipe and took four whiffs blowing the smoke toward the east. Then he stood west of the fireplace, faced east, blew smoke once each to the heavens, to the north, and south, and four times to the west, and emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He gave the pipe to the leading singer who said, "Nawa." 539 756

Then the candidates were received one by one. The first one who came was told to bathe in the preparation made ready by Crow-feather. When he was ready, he was taken to the fireplace and forcibly placed on the fire. If he had blisters, it was proof that he had not complied with the rule of cleanliness for thirty days. Then he was put on the fire again to cure his blisters. If any candidate proved cowardly he was immediately turned out of the mud-lodge. When all had been initiated, the singers drummed and sang and all the new members danced. The two soldiers entered the lodge for outsiders were now admitted.

They danced until forty songs were sung. After each ten songs they stopped to smoke. After the forty songs the spectators went away. The members remained behind and Crow-feather said, "You who have gone through the fire may now smear your bodies with soot. You are not now afraid of the fire nor of an enemy. Those who wish to remain may do so, the others may come early tomorrow." The chief and the two soldiers went away. The next morning they all swam in the creek and on their return to the lodge were given their proper positions in the ceremony. The four singers were to be leaders. The chief was to be their leader. He was to carry the pipe when the people went through the village to dance at the most important places. Those at the northwest were to be painted yellow; those at the northeast with white clay; those at the south, dark red; and those at the northwest with black soot. The singers were to be painted with soot at their joints.

When everyone was painted and all was ready, the leader of the ceremony said, "Singers, iruska, and chief, we will now go through the smoking ceremony." The chief made the smoke offering and Crow-feathers said, "Now we will begin our dance; the assistants may make a big fire, cut the dried meat and have the brass kettle ready." When everything was prepared he put a new knife in the bottom of the kettle, added water and then the meat. Then the soldiers were called in.

The leader of the singers said, "Chief, soldiers, those of you at stations, and iruska. Something is now at hand. We will begin to sing and all dance. Watch Crow-feather and do as he does. The spectators came in. Crow-feather was the only one who had the bustle and headdress; the others were simply painted. When the singers had sung the third set of songs the assistants made a big fire. They hung the kettle over it. When the last

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539 set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather
● 756 danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as iruska (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.[1] This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

The One Horn Dance.

535 The members of the one horn dance (raris arika) were young men eligible
756 to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered:
721 the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows. During the ceremony they called upon Pahukatawa (Hills along the banks of a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. Women were not [783] admitted for Pahukatawa directed them to bar women for fear some would be unclean.

The dance was held only when Pahukatawa ordered it and then only [533] before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo. Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each dancer was painted according to the dreams of visions he had experienced. [302] Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

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[1] The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the iruska man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for iruska is iriska (singular), iruska (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the iruska fire was cottonwood and willows.

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They had one large drum which was made according to the directions of Pahukatawa. Several men cut down a large water willow tree which was split into several pieces. The best piece was planed down then bent over and fastened together with sinew. Four flints were tied inside the drum. The head was covered with buffalo hide and sewed with a rawhide string. When dried it was painted black, the rim red, and four buffalo skulls were marked on the sides.

There were four regular singers and two assistants. Any of the singers was permitted to dance.

This war dance was held to teach the men how to act during battle and to remind them that there was a being who watched over them and gave them courage.

The origin myth is as follows: —

One day when the Skidi' lived in their old village in Nebraska, seven men went out hunting toward the west. After a few days they came to a willow-covered ravine where they camped. Before sunrise the next morning the youngest among the hunters went up in the hills. As he came to the top of a hill he saw the enemy approaching. Instead of running towards camp he ran towards some heavy timber. The enemy followed. As the young man was afoot they soon overtook and surrounded him. He fought until all his arrows were gone and then they killed him.

The other hunters remained in the ravine and when the enemy left went to the place where the young man had been killed. They found arrows stuck in the ground and long poles scattered about. The young man's body seemed missing, but finally they found it cut up and strewn over the ground. They gathered up the pieces and laid him out. They went home and told the people how the young man had been killed. *All the village started out to bury the young man. When they arrived at* the scene of the fight they found the arrows and poles but not a sign of the young man. They camped here for several days and searched for the man's bones, but in vain. They continued to the west to hunt buffalo.

Several years passed and the incident was forgotten. One winter evening when the people were living in their mud-lodges some men who were singing round the village noticed flashes of light here and there. They took this to be a warning that the enemy was coming to attack them.

Finally the village quieted down. One man only could not sleep. As he lay awake he heard a sound like rattling buffalo hoofs. The sound came into the lodge and then stopped. As he watched and listened, the man felt first a cold wind and then warm wind against his face and someone whispered: "My brother, I am here. I am the one who was killed a few years ago. I am not dead. I am alive. When I was killed and my body was cut up and pieced together again, the powers in the heavens, on the earth and beneath it, pitied me. They caused all the birds and animals to congregate and make me live again. They promised to return the parts of me they had eaten. Everything but my brains was returned. An eagle and a buffalo bull wished to give me life so they suggested that the thunderbirds (swans) give me their down for brains. You see I cannot speak well for I have no brains. I am everything. When the lights appeared they saw me. I am part of the winds."

"Before sunrise tomorrow you must go to the hills where I will meet you. Fill

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your pipe and let me smoke. Do not fill it with sumach leaves but with tobacco mixed with shavings from an old pipestem. When you light the pipe, hand it to me saying 'Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa.' I will take it and smoke. You will know me as Pahukatawa. Now prepare the smoke for me."

The man took an old pipestem from a sacred bundle and scraped it. He mixed the shavings with tobacco, filled the pipe, lighted it and handing it to the mysterious man said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." All this took place in the dark. The man could see no one, he heard only the whispering. When he passed the pipe someone took it and began to smoke. His visitor took a few whiffs and whispered, "Take the pipe, it is empty. Fill it again and let me smoke." He refilled the pipe and after drawing on it a few times returned it and said, "Brother the smoke is good. Be sure to meet me in the hills tomorrow before sunrise. I chose you, for I like your spirit. I will come to speak to you often. You must have my smoke ready."

He heard buffalo hoofs rattle and could almost see a buffalo walk out of the lodge. Before sunrise the man went out to the hills. He climbed one hill and as he was going down another he came to a deep ravine. He heard a strange cry and as he looked towards the ravine saw a mountain lion ready to spring. He ran back and in a deeper canyon saw a grizzly tearing up the ground. He was frightened and as he looked about for a means of escape, canyon and bear disappeared, and a man stood before him, laughing. The man said, "Brother, why are you frightened? Didn't I ask you to meet me here? That mountain lion was I, so was the bear. Because you were afraid of these animals you will not receive their power. Go home and return tomorrow before sunrise."

The stranger disappeared and the man went home and slept throughout the day. In the evening he filled his pipe and standing outside, west of his lodge, he blew smoke four times to the west and said "Brother, Pahukatawa, I offer you this smoke, do not forget me. Pity me and I will do as you wish." He emptied the ashes from his pipe and went inside the lodge. At dawn he went west into the hills. When he had passed he heard strange sounds which he took to be shouting. The enemy was attacking him; he tried to hide, but could not. The leader carried a pole hung with human scalps. He was frightened and ran. Before him stood the man he had seen the day before. The stranger scolded him and told him that he was the leader of the supposed enemy and intended to endow him with bravery in battle, with power to take scalps and count coups.

Then he told the man to go into the ravine. When he arrived, he saw a buffalo bull charging him. He was not frightened this time. When the bull came close and was about to run him down he closed his eyes, when he opened them, the stranger stood there, wearing a buffalo robe and buckskin leggings. He carried a whole eagle on his back and in his right hand held a staff six feet long upon which was tied eagle down.

The stranger said, "Brother, you have chosen well. I will give you these things. You are to be neither a warrior nor a chief, but a prophet among your people. Repeat to them what I tell you. I have great power from the gods in the heavens and on the earth. I was brought to life again that I might save my people from starvation and from their enemies. If the people see flashes of light around the village tell them they must be quiet. Tell them I am near, and that I bring a message to them for their good. You receive my power as the sun rises. From now on you will be known as Coming-sun. Take these things to your home and I will tell you more about them."

The man disappeared but left the regalia on the ground.[1]

[1] For a different version see Grinnell, (b), 143.

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The same day, Coming-sun invited Big-eagle, the chief of the village, to eat with him. Then he detailed all that had happened from the time of the first flashes of light. The chief examined the bundle of regalia and sent a crier through the village to tell the people not to fear the flashing light for it was Pahukatawa who was killed long ago. Some believed and some doubted the truth of this. 539 721 756

At night Pahukatawa came to Coming-sun and smoked with him and said, "I know our people do not believe you and me, but the time will come when they will." Then Pahukatawa disappeared. He visited Coming-sun now and then and told him that he could not live with the people because he had no brain, but would come when they needed him.

From that time flashes of light were a signal that Pahukatawa was near which was followed the next day by news of an approaching enemy. The people recognized the power of the lights. When Coming-sun heard the buffalo in his lodge he prepared the pipe in the usual way and passed it saying, "Take the pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." After he had smoked, he said, "Brother, I came a long way. I have been among our enemies. All the different tribes have received and smoked the war pipe from the Sioux. They will make war upon us. I have come to tell you so you can warn the people. They intend to wipe us out and burn our village. Tell the people I am coming into this lodge tomorrow. Every keeper of a sacred bundle must bring some native tobacco from it to this lodge. The gods in the heavens and your friends who have passed away wish this tobacco. Be sure that the people bring the tobacco."

The next day Coming-sun told Big-eagle what Pahukatawa had ordered. He sent a crier through the village with the announcement. During the day Coming-sun's lodge was prepared, the beds were removed. In the evening, Coming-sun, Big-eagle, and the crier sat in the lodge, smoking. A fire burned in the fireplace. Then Coming-sun heard a whisper, "Tell the cryer to go to each bundle keeper and ask him to bring tobacco to the lodge where Pahukatawa is waiting."

Soon the men began to come in with their tobacco which they placed in front of the altar which was west of the fireplace. The lodge faced east. When all the tobacco was brought in, it made a large pile extending north and south across the lodge. Spectators soon began to crowd into Coming-sun's lodge for they had heard Pahukatawa was there. They could not see him, but when the fire burned low they saw him in the form of a buffalo sitting down, as an eagle, and for an instant as a man.

Coming-sun said, "Pahukatawa says that it is now that the gods in the heavens and our dead relatives receive the tobacco. He says I must distribute it." Coming-sun sat behind the tobacco and threw it about, but it

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did not fall on the ground. When the tobacco was scattered, he sat at the altar and said, "Pahukatawa says the gods are pleased with the tobacco." Coming-sun told the people that Pahukatawa had told him about a new society and dance, the one horn dance. The people wondered how Pahukatawa would leave the lodge. He knew what they were thinking about and whispered to Coming-sun. "Tell the people that Pahukatawa will leave now, and wishes them to come back in the morning and stay in the lodge all day and plan for the new ceremony." Then Coming-sun said, "Watch Pahukatawa leave us." They watched but instead of a man they saw a buffalo bull rise, shake itself, and disappear. Then they saw where the tobacco had spread. A whirlwind came up, passed through the lodge, and disappeared. The people knew he had gone and left the lodge. Coming-sun and Big-eagle remained behind.

In the afternoon they sent for men proficient in drum-making who were told to obtain timber and buffalo bull hides for constructing the drums. Weeping willow timber was split and planed; the hides were cut in circles and sewed with buffalo sinew. In the evening the drum was still incomplete. The men went to their respective lodges for food.

Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat at the altar. Chiefs and important men made their way to the lodge for they were convinced as to what they had seen. Coming-sun felt cold and warm winds and told Big-eagle that Pahukatawa was with them. Coming-sun prepared his pipe and said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." In reply, he heard a whispered "Rawa rawa" (now, now). Someone took the pipe and both men heard the smoke inhaled. Then the pipe was returned. Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun that the enemy was approaching. He ordered that in the next three days the people join in building a high embankment around the village. On the fourth night Pahukatawa promised to return. Every man was to be prepared with plenty of arrows, bows, and spears for the dance to be held the next day. Then Pahukatawa disappeared in the form of a whirlwind.

Big-eagle said, "All those here present must help build the earthworks and prepare the bows, arrows, and spears." The next day the people did as they were bidden. At night, Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat in the lodge surrounded by a lot of men. When the drum was ready they taught them the song.

Towards evening of the fourth day Coming-sun told Big-eagle to have the men drive their ponies into camp and decorate their fast horses and then go to Coming-sun's lodge with all the regalia they used in battle. Women were not permitted to enter the lodge. The drum was placed near the altar and behind it sat Coming-sun and Big-eagle. A large fire was built. Then

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Pahukatawa entered the lodge and the pipe was offered him as before. He whispered, "I have come from the enemy's camp which is very near. They will be here tomorrow and we must be ready to meet them. They are very numerous. I will sit before the singers and you two. I will whisper to you what to say to the people. You will see me in many forms. When I am in human form I will sit near you and talk to you. When the men come in have the singers sit around the drum and tell the men to prepare themselves as if they were going into battle. Tell them to wear their quivers over their shoulders but to carry their bows and arrows in their hands. All the men who are to dance must carry their weapons. They are now coming in and I must make myself visible to them for many still doubt me. They do not believe I am here."

Big-eagle saw Pahukatawa in the form of a buffalo, then as an eagle, a wolf, and finally as a man. Those who had known him when he was alive said, "It is he." When everything was ready, the drummers began to sing peculiar songs which the others soon learned. In dancing, they imitated animals, then the drum would be beaten and the men would raise their weapons and charge and then continue the dance.

Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men to jump up and down and circle the lodge as they dance. Shake the earth for they will receive strength from it. As he dances each man must decide what to do to the enemy the next day. At the end of each song one man should address me and say, 'Pahukatawa, I wish to kill so many; I wish to count so many coups, or take so many scalps.' If I can grant their wishes, I will do so."

After each dance some man stopped and made his request to Pahukatawa, who whispered to Coming-sun, "What he wishes to do, he will do." One young man said, "Pahukatawa I wish to kill nine men. When I attack the tenth man, I wish to be seriously wounded, but wish to recover." Pahukatawa said, "That young man has no faith in me, but what he says will come true." Coming-sun told the men they must not ask to be wounded or killed. The dance continued throughout the night. One feeble old man arose and said, "Pahukatawa, I am old. I have been a great man in my day. I am glad you are with us. I want to count coup once more. Before I die I wish to strike twelve men for I wish to be leader of the party. I want to capture the thirteenth man so that I can bring him home for the women to mock. Pahukatawa whispered, "Tell the man all that he has said will come true."

Towards dawn when the men were resting and smoking, Pahukatawa, whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the people our enemies are up now and are decorating themselves and their horses. I must go now. I will let the people see me before I disappear. I will go to our enemies. I will watch

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them and when they start I will appear on yonder hills as a buffalo. When they are ready to attack your village, I will cause the rain to fall so their weapons will be wet. Do not fear them I will be near you. After you see the cloud, I will appear as a wolf and then get behind the breastworks and defend your women and children."

Then they danced again and Pahukatawa disappeared. Big-eagle dismissed the men and bade them prepare for the attack. As the sun rose someone shouted, "A buffalo is coming over the hills." Then the people knew that Pahukatawa's prophecy was being fulfilled. A small black cloud appeared in the west and a wolf was seen in the hills. Then the people ran to the breastworks. They saw the enemy approaching over the hills from every direction. They charged right into the village but the men shot and killed many of the enemy until their bowstrings were broken and their arrow-heads loose and then they retreated. The men rode after them with their ponies. Each one acted as he had wished during the dance.

The feeble old man was in the battle. When he killed a man he counted coup on him. He rode along until he came up to a man who seemed defiant. The old man waved his hand at him and he threw away his weapons. The old man jumped off his horse and threw the man to the ground with his face downward. He stood on his back, caught his right arm, pulled it out of its socket, and did the same with the left. Then he stood him up, tied a rope round his waist, and led the captive home. As he approached the village he met some old women singing the victory songs. The man threw the rope to them and said, "Take him, you braves, and do as you please with him. He was the leader of the war party."

The old woman took the prisoner. Men came in groups singing victory songs and told of daring deeds; some came with scalps tied to poles and some with scalps under their belts. Women dances, scalp dances, and victory dances were held for many days. The last dance was one by the women acting as men. Women were at liberty to go with any man and men with any woman.

After resting, the men gathered in Coming-sun's lodge and they held the dance during which Pahukatawa appeared at the altar. He whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men they must keep this dance. They must dance whenever they see fire flashing round their village. The fire is a warning that the enemy is near. In the dance every man must wear a cap with one horn on the right side. Tell them I cannot always be with them, but they must do as I tell them." The men offered tobacco and smoke to Pahukatawa and thanked him for saving the people.

The dance was kept up for a long time, until the light flashes were seen no more. The dance was continued only by brave men and chiefs. After

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Coming-sun died, Pahukatawa selected another man to talk to. One night this man refused because he was sleepy. To another man Pahukatawa said that he would go away never to return; that he would stay in the north as one of the minor gods in the heavens. He said he would help the people when they called on him. 539 721 756

Since the Pawnee came to Oklahoma they have revived this dance (p. 638). The drum is the same as the old one. At the altar is a whole eagle and in front of it a crooked crow lance. When the ceremony was revived a woman claimed to have seen flashes of light. The dance is still given by the Skidi Pawnee. There is also a pair of leggings which was given to Coming-sun. They have a ceremony known as the warrior's ceremony. This one horn dance was copied by the other three bands, but lacked the power of Pahukatawa. It was a religious dance in which they took part to defend their villages from the enemy. 535 721 756 166

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down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth." Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right.

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahauirata village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will.

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Naturally, they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the arrest of White by United States marshals.

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Christian elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the many rival prophets.

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

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MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly responsible. 776 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies. 292 796

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires. 224

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed. 361

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.) 622 756 782 [565] [773]

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However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

Eagle Dance. There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pitahauirata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

Love Medicine. There were no love medicines as among the northern Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

No-flight Idea. A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

Painted-Tipis. Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

Sex Taboo. Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicine-men. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

Smoking. A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

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In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phenomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preceding concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction. Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Ogiala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system.

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VII. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Although Pawnee mythology abounds in tales of the poor boy who achieved success, it appears that the rank of an individual was determined to a large extent by the social position of his immediate ancestors. At any rate, certain classes of society were recognized and membership in these was to a certain degree hereditary. [In the manuscript the terms "caste" and "class" are both used indiscriminately. I have used "class" throughout.] This was especially true of the highest in rank, though they might be deposed for cause, and though a child born of poor parents of low rank might through his own efforts become a tribal chief. Before enumerating the specific classes in Skidi society, one should note that all positions and all rank were conceived as having supernatural origin. In fact, the higher of these were divinely instituted and instructions given the first holders as to their duties and prerogatives. Theoretically, Skidi society was divided into two great divisions: those who made war and protected the village from human enemies; and those who by sacred and supernatural means protected the village from disease, famine, and pestilence. To these two general divisions might be added a third class consisting of poor people who did not possess rank, power, influence, or any considerable amount of property. The real distinction as made by the Skidi, however, was that of the nobility as contrasted with the common people, one position in one or the other divisions being, as already noted, largely a matter of ancestry. But it may be repeated that there was no tribal law that would prohibit the son of a poor man from becoming a chief, and, on the other hand, it was possible for the son of a chief to become an outcast, for the individual was judged by his own actions.

In the nobility were to be found the leaders in the material affairs of the band—the chiefs, braves, and warriors; those who looked out for the larger religious interests—the priests; and those who kept the band free from sickness and drove out disease—the medicine-men. The duties of these three groups were quite separate and distinct. Occasionally, however, one individual might at the same time be chief, priest, and medicine-man.

CHIEFS

The chiefs of the Skidi were thirty-one in number. Of these thirty-one the representative of each village, who was the owner of the sacred bundle of that village, was chief by heredity, and trans-

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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MEDICINE-MEN

Like the chief and the priest, the medicine-man held a position of honor among the Skidi. His office was supposed to have been created by Tirawa immediately after he had instituted the office of chief, at which time Tirawa said: "I shall give you (chief) a companion who will understand certain beings who command all the spirits of the earth. He shall learn from them the different curative powers, and shall be your equal, but he will not command, for it will be his duty to wait on the sick." At this time Tirawa gave the medicine-man the blue clay he wore over his body during ceremonies, the wing of a black eagle to be used in his left hand, and a gourd rattle to be held in his right.

The medicine-men derived their powers from supernatural beings who were usually identified with animals. At birth a child came under the influence of a supernatural being—a particular star shining especially bright—who was supposed to manifest himself later in the child's life. Usually this manifestation occurred when the child fell ill, at which time medicine-men were sent for. When the right one appeared, he could cure the child, for he possessed the power from an animal which in turn had received its power from the star noted above. Thus the child was made aware of the particular animal guardian which was to influence his career. When he grew to be a young man he might become a medicine-man through a supernatural experience during which power was given him directly by his guardian, or, as was more common, he applied for instruction to some medicine-man who had received power from the same guardian. With the latter's consent, the young man became his pupil, paying for the knowledge received. [Further details regarding medicine-men have been published by Linton, 1923b.]

In many ways the medicine-men ingratiated themselves with the people. One of the best examples occurred during the fall performance of the great ceremony of the Skidi medicine-men. On the first night they visited all the village lodges containing sacred altars, and on the following night made a general tour of the village offering their services free of charge.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

This group probably represented less than one-half the members of the band. They were distinguished by the fact that they were without influence or power, their lodges were smaller and not so completely furnished, they had few or no ponies, and were often the objects of charity.

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The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were of two sorts, ceremonies which centered around the sacred bundles and were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe, and ceremonies which were performed by societies whose members had some secret in common. In the ceremonies of the first class, the most important of which have been described in Leaflets 5-7, an appeal was made primarily to the great heavenly deities. In the ceremonies of the second class, the appeal was made to the less powerful, but more intimate earthly gods who were believed to have bestowed power upon the performers. Among the ceremonies of the second class, those of the medicine men were the most important.

In every Indian tribe there were a number of persons, called medicine men by the whites, who were regarded as the possessors of supernatural powers which enabled them to recognize and cure disease. They were believed to have received their powers from some supernatural being either as a direct gift or as the result of instruction by some person who had received such powers. Although they frequently employed sleight of hand and other trickery to impress the uninitiated, many of them believed that they really possessed the powers attributed to them, and performed their ceremonies in good faith. In some cases they combined the functions of a shaman or priest with that of a healer, and thus exercised great influence over the people. In most of the populous tribes they were organized into guilds or societies.

Among the Pawnee, the medicine men ranked socially next to the chiefs and priests. They usually wore a distinctive costume consisting of a buffalo robe with the hair out, a bear's-claw necklace, and a cap of beaver skin. They also wore charms or amulets consisting of the tail and claws of the wild cat, badger, or bear, bear's ears, miniature pipes, and downy feathers,

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[751] attached to a bandoleer of beads or seeds. Instead of
756 the bandoleer a gaming ring containing charms was sometimes worn on the arm. Each medicine man had a bag, generally made from the skin of an animal tanned whole, in which he kept his roots, paints, white clay, and other objects used in working his cures. The latter varied with the individual, but usually consisted of deer tails, the leg bones and claws of eagles, human bones, dried fingers, and very often the maw stone of a buffalo. The last was greatly valued, as it was supposed to contain the life or soul of the buffalo. The medicine men's bags with their contents were usually handed down from father to son, or were given to a newly initiated medicine man by his instructor.

755 The methods used to work cures varied with the nature of the disease and the customs of the medicine man. Diseases of unknown origin and those ascribed to witchcraft could only be treated by some one who could work a counter spell. Such diseases were usually eradicated by sucking a feather, small stone, blood, or some other object from the patient, singing and the shaking of a rattle being part of the performance. The object sucked out was always thrown into the fire and consumed so that the seat or cause of the trouble could not enter again into the patient or into
756 any one else. All medicine men knew more or less of
[278] roots and herbs, which they administered as teas or in powdered form. The pay of the medicine man, which was given him when his services were no longer required, varied with the wealth of the patient. It sometimes consisted of buffalo robes and parfleches of dried meat, but was more often a sack of corn or a few strands of dried, braided pumpkins. He was paid even when he failed to work a cure.

756 The supernatural beings from whom the Pawnee
776 medicine men derived their powers were, for the most part, identified with animals. Not all animals were

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able or willing to confer power, and there are some indications that all those recognized as guardians were related to one or another of the four supernatural beings in the west, the messengers of the Evening Star. It was believed that every man passed at birth under the influence of some supernatural being. No one knew who this guardian was, but he would manifest himself later in the man's career. He was usually discovered when the man fell sick during childhood. Medicine men were sent for, and the guardian of the one who was to be able to make the cure was thereby shown to be the guardian of the child. If, on reaching manhood, the boy desired to become a medicine man, he would seek to acquire powers from his guardian.

The powers conferred by the supernatural beings were of three sorts, power to cure the sick, power to perform feats of magic, and power of a third sort, called *pikawiu*, for which there is no equivalent in English. Of these, the curative power was considered by far the most important. The ability to perform feats of magic was simply a tangible evidence that the medicine man possessed the knowledge which would enable him to cure the sick. The third sort of power resembled hypnotism in some of its manifestations. By it the medicine man was enabled to subjugate the will of another to his own and to render his patient passive during ceremonies so that his power could go to the soul of the patient and remove the evil influence which was at the root of the disease. The *pikawiu* power was also likened to an arrow or bullet in its ability to cut off life. Medicine men could throw this power into an enemy as one would shoot an arrow, and the individual attacked in this way was helpless until some other medicine man, who understood the power, exercised his magic to draw it out. Among the Pawnee there was a class of men and women, not true medicine men, who possessed this power and used it for evil

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754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were feared and disliked by the better element. Like the medicine men, they were organized into a society, but nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a number of societies which were united by certain secrets which they had in common. In addition to these secrets, which were known to all medicine men, but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society and even each member had individual secrets. The oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine village all of whose members were said to have originally been medicine men. Its members derived their powers from a number of different guardians. In the other medicine societies, which were organized at a later date, all the members derived their powers from the same guardian. A man might become a medicine man as the result of a supernatural experience during which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
[787] guardian. Such experiences were sought through long continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined his guardian, he applied to some medicine man who had derived his powers from that being, and asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils whose wives would remain with him in his booth in the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

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wished, and in this way the women learned his secrets 756
and became able themselves to practice medicine. The
origin of the medicine societies is described in the fol-
lowing legend:—

"Once there was a man who lived alone, and did 539
not mingle with the rest of the tribe. One night he 773
had a wonderful dream. He dreamed that he stood on
the bank of a wide river, and that a water monster
came to the surface and spoke to him. He was so much
impressed by this dream that he decided to seek for
the river. He had several pairs of moccasins made,
filled them with dried meat and parched corn, and
started out, traveling eastward. He traveled for many
days until he came to a great stream of water which he
called Kits-ta-rux-ti ('the Wonderful River'). He stood
upon the bank looking down, and all at once the water
monster he had seen in his dream rose to the surface.
It was very large and long. On its head was hair of
many colors, and around its mouth were many-colored
feelers. It did not speak to him, but dived, and the
man leaped into the river after it. He found himself
in a lodge of animals. Beside the altar were an owl
and a beaver, while all the other animals sat around in
a circle. Near the entrance were two ponds and by
each of these two big geese. In the west of the lodge
sat a woman. The water monster which had led him
to the lodge of the animals lay to the south of the
entrance, and acted as spokesman for the other animals.
He said, 'My son, I come to you from the Big Waters.
I was sent to you by Tirawa to instruct you and to tell
these animals to instruct you in their mysteries. When
you go home, tell your people to make an image of me
and lay it in the lodge as I am now lying. The fireplace
you see is not a fireplace, but a wonderful turtle. The
woman sitting in the west is not a woman, but a thing
of clay. She is a witch woman. The geese that stand
by the ponds, when they flap their wings, make a noise

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539 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine
773 men to help them, and they would give them a place in the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from other bands also heard about it and came begging to learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them, and they went back to their own people and started other medicine lodges."

● 756 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge
796 agreed in a general way with those last described in the legendary account of its origin, but there were several features not mentioned in the story just given. The preparations for the great fall ceremony were begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected two members of the society to make two bows and four arrows. When these were completed, they were given to two other medicine men with instructions for one to kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover
[532] the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide
[778] to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the same way, the hide of the former being saved to make an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been
[778] killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered
[342] that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge
[346] seems to have been used for the ceremony year after year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

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monies. All the beds and other furniture were carried out by the women, and the floor swept. When this had been done, the medicine men seated themselves in front of the lodge altar and sent their errand men to notify the other members of the society. After these had arrived and taken their places, the leaders went to each of them in turn and directed them, in a whisper, to prepare for the ceremony by a four-day fast. Each man, when he received this notification, returned to his own lodge, took his medicine bag, and left the village to spend that time in solitary fasting and prayer. At the expiration of the fast they bathed in the river and returned to the medicine lodge, where each took his appointed place.

The following morning, all the members of the society went to the river bottom to cut willows and cotton woods for the small booths which were to be built inside the large lodge. When they reached the timber, one of the two leading medicine men prayed and offered smoke to the heavenly gods, while the other, after he had finished, paid the same honors to the earthly gods. When this had been done, the timbers were cut and carried back to the main lodge, and the booths built.

The next morning the image of the water monster was made, the leaders assigning to different men the task of getting the things needed and making the different parts. This image was nearly sixty feet in length and encircled the lodge, with its head and tail on either side of the entrance. The framework was made of pieces of ashwood lashed together with sinew. Over these a layer of grass was laid, and the whole covered with mud which was smoothed and painted in different colors. The mouth of the figure was so large that a man could crawl into it, and was provided with pointed teeth, also of ashwood. On each side of the mouth, long, slender willow-rods were stuck to represent

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756 feelers. The head was covered with a black-dyed
778 buffalo robe and painted and decorated with downy
796 feathers. The image of the turtle, in the center of
532 which was the fire place, and that of the witch woman, were made the next day. The woman's image consisted of a willow frame covered with grass and surfaced with clay. The features were modeled, and the eyes were made with pumpkin seeds blackened in the center. A buffalo scalp was placed on the head, and to this were attached long braids of human hair which hung down to the knees. The figure was dressed in a buffalo robe.

756 When the images had been made, a ceremony was
796 held by which each of the medicine men received power from either the monster or the witch woman. Some chose one, and some the other. On the day following, they went to cut the cedar tree which was to be placed just inside the entrance. When they found a suitable tree, they formed a circle around it, prayed to it, made presents to it of robes and other things, and finally took power from it. When this had been done, they cut it down. As it fell, they began to hypnotize each other and work sleight of hand. They then picked it up and carried it back to the village singing. As they neared the village, a second party of medicine men came out to meet them, and began to hypnotize them and try to drive them back. The party with the tree were more powerful, and gradually drove the others back to the edge of the village. There the tree was laid down, and all the people came and threw offerings on it. These offerings were gathered up, and were finally given to the medicine men. The tree was then taken to the lodge and set up, and its branches were covered with white
[532] downy feathers. That night they made the images of
[778] the Morning Star and the heavenly gods. These were flat pieces of hide, cut in the outline of a man. The image of the Morning Star was fastened to a long pole

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and raised above the smoke-hole just before the star rose. The other images were fastened to the tops of the main posts or on a cord running across the upper part of the lodge.

It is uncertain at what stage in the ceremony the altar of loon skins was set up, but it seems to have been after the various images had been made. The sticks bearing the skins were thrust in the ground on the west side of the lodge, and the space between them sprinkled with water and then covered with downy feathers. When this had been done, the leader of the medicine men raised his face to the sky and cried, "Father, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, now stand on the altar. Give us plenty of rain this summer." Then dropping his voice to a whisper and bowing down to the ground, he said, "Mother Earth, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, are now upon you. Let our crops grow so that we may be fed." When he had done this, he went outside the lodge and called upon all the gods to give power to the loons so that they, in turn, could give power to the people.

At dawn of the day following that on which the last of the images had been made and set up, the various medicine men dressed themselves to represent their guardian animals and marched, in order of the importance of their guardians, around the outside of the lodge and then around the inside. They did this four times, dancing and imitating the cries and actions of their guardians. They then held a feast in the lodge. That night they once more marched out in procession and visited all the lodges which contained sacred bundles, dancing in each. When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leaders selected certain medicine men to go through the village once more, visit every lodge, and report if any one was sick. When

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756 the report had been made, other men were sent to
796 cure them.

The next morning, a number of women were summoned to the medicine lodge and told to go into the timber and get loads of wood. When they returned with their burdens, they were brought into the lodge, fed, and instructed in some of the mysteries. Then they returned to their homes. In the afternoon the medicine men once more dressed to imitate their guardians and came out of the lodge, dancing and performing various sleight of hand tricks. The favorite [789] trick seems to have been to thrust long rods down their throats. They repeated the outside performance four times. That evening they built a great fire inside the lodge and invited all the people to an exhibition of sleight of hand. These performances were repeated every night for a month or more, and it was during this time that new medicine men were initiated.

756 When a man desired to join the medicine lodge, he told his relatives and friends, and they helped him to gather property of all sorts. When he had enough, he went to the lodge, taking the gifts with him, and approached the man from whom he wanted to learn the mysteries. He passed his hands over the man's head and arms and said, "Medicine man, I am poor. I stand before you a poor man wanting to learn the mysteries you possess. Look upon these gifts which I have brought you." When he had done this, he presented the medicine man with a filled pipe. If the latter was willing to teach him, he accepted the pipe and took the young man into his booth with him.

756 At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the booths
796 and images were removed from the lodge, carried down into the bed of the river and placed in the shallow water in the same relative positions they had

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occupied in the lodge. As the procession went down to the river, the medicine men mesmerized one another, and performed sleight of hand. It was customary, before the witch woman's image was placed in the water, for some woman among the bystanders to remove all her clothing and ornaments and place them upon it. When this ceremony was finished, they returned to the medicine lodge, offered smoke to the animal gods, and sprinkled the floor of the lodge with water to cleanse it and free it from the powers that had been summoned there during the ceremony. After the lodge had been purified in this way, the medicine men held a feast and returned to their homes. The two medicine men to whom the altar belonged remained behind to take it down and roll the various objects up in the bundle in which they were kept between ceremonies. This completed the ceremony, and the owners of the lodge were free to live in it as before.

In addition to the serious performers in the medicine men's ceremonies there were certain men, called *kitscoa*, who acted as clowns. They wore masks made from corn husks, rawhide, wood, and feathers, dressed grotesquely, and daubed their bodies with mud. It seems to have been their duty to perform strange antics during the ceremonies to amuse the people, and particularly to imitate in a mocking spirit the serious acts of the others. They were said to represent hairy dwarfs or supernatural beings who had mysterious ways and of whom the people were afraid. Similar clowns play an important part in the ceremonies of some of the Pueblo tribes.

The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight of hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers at-

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756 tributed to them. The ceremonies also possessed cer-
796 tain social functions, for the spectators included wo-
men and children as well as men.

000 This account has been compiled from the unpub-
lished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey.

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would just put these together and it would be a good soup when you had nothing else to eat. We like to eat however it tastes, but we certainly like to eat a well-cooked dish. In the spring my grandmother went out and collected wild turnips and things to save up for the winter. She never went dancing. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy had a very different personality from my grandmother. She was not at all bashful like my grandmother, who was very good at doing all sorts of things, but didn't do much talking. The reason my grandmother was bashful in this way was because she was humble and sad on account of the death of her sons in the battles with the Poncas.

The little boy Yellow Calf, grandson of Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, was six or seven years old and the constant companion of Otter. His name *Ari-pahat*, "calf-red," referred not to a red color, but to a tawny yellow. The name had an important sacred reference—the calfskin wrapping around the Evening Star bundle, and it must have been given to him in the course of a ceremony to which his family contributed. His father, High Noon, was the middle one of White Woman's three brothers who always came to the house. Otter called High Noon *tiwatciriks*, "uncle," and as the nephew, Otter called Yellow Calf *piirau*, "child." High Noon sent meat to the house on behalf of his son. Otter describes him in the following terms:

Yellow Calf was a bit livelier than me. We played together. He wanted to fight sometimes but I didn't want to. He wasn't rough though. When we got to Oklahoma we separated, and we never did get together again.

His family was unfortunate for even when they succeeded in getting horses, the horses died. But afterward Yellow Calf had good luck. First he married an old lady who had no relatives of her own and he inherited all her land. Then when he married a younger woman, his wife got some land of her own. They had many daughters, all of whom married and went all over to live. When he died, he left a large family.

The occasion of Yellow Calf's first marriage is an interesting story. When he was about eighteen, Yellow Calf was seized with hysteria. He imagined he saw a kind of Pawnee Lorelei—a little deer called *tatatsiks* that turned into a woman. The family did all they could to cure him but everything they tried was in vain. Then a medicine woman of about fifty said she could cure him, providing they could get married (Old Lady Tsitawa—see pp. 294-295, 305). They did marry and the cure was successful, and Yellow Calf prospered after that. Otter's mother White Woman remarked at the time that it was a pity Yellow Calf's mother wasn't alive when he was having all that trouble or she could have told

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him to jump into the water and stay under, and when he came out, some deer hair would have come up out of his throat and he would have been well at once. The lesson was not lost on Otter, though he seems never to have needed it.

The case of the old medicine woman is also of interest. Her son, a boy of fourteen, had recently committed suicide. He had resented her second husband and finally shot himself. Otter's older brother Fox Chief had taken the occasion to point out to him that suicide solved nothing and that all the boy had accomplished was to leave his mother all alone.

Old Bull was the leading man of the south half of the house. He was a man of good-natured jocularity, about fifty years old. He was a highly skilled buffalo hunter and on occasion he was known to outrun a buffalo. His full name was *Hikuts-tarus*, "Old Buffalo Bull"—"Scabby" or "Itchy." He was a man of good family who had begun life with a number of advantages. His father was a prominent chief, and he was sitting in his family's hereditary seat in the chiefs' council. In his boyhood he had struck up a friendship with a poor boy named Small who was serving in a chief's household. The poor boy had a vision and he had chosen to share it with his wealthy friend, Old Bull (see pp. 322-335). Then, while he was out tending the horses of his wealthy patron, Small was killed by the Sioux and Old Bull continued with Small's teachings and rose to prominence in the Doctor Association. He was currently a leader of the Deer Cult of that body. Not only his skill as a buffalo hunter, but his rise in the medical profession were notable personal achievements.

Old Bull and Victory Call had a kin relationship that went back to past family history. It was usual for every prominent man, particularly among the important chiefs and doctors, to draw around him numbers of young men who would come to live in his house and serve him in various ways as apprentices or dependents. Chief Big Eagle was such a man with a large household in Old Village in 1838. He had three sons of his own of whom the oldest was *kax-kuutu*, "Rotten-House," the second Sitting Hawk, and the third, Victory Call. Among the other young men who were in the house it was always possible to find some kin line that would make them brothers to the children of their host. Old Bull's father was one of these young men and he had called Victory Call, *irari*, "brother." Now that they were settled together in a common household, Old Bull properly addressed Victory Call as *atias*, "my father," since Old Bull's father had been counted as Victory Call's brother. Accordingly, Victory Call addressed Old Bull as *piirau*, "my child." Otter, who also called Victory Call father and was called by him *piirau*, was as a brother to Old Bull, Old Bull assuming the role of older brother to the boy. As younger brother, Otter would wait until his older brother Old Bull ad-

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13

CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

Ritual Meeting of the Chiefs—New Responsibilities of Chiefs—Mythohistorical Significance of Skull Bundle—Development of Original Village Federations—Ceremony Described—Chief of Hunt Is Chosen—Banquet Follows—People of Village Informed

WHEN THE CORN WAS LAID by in the beginning of June, a new phase in the Pawnee year's round began. Everyone turned their thoughts to the long migration out onto the prairie. The mass hunt of the buffalo herd that was the next phase in the Pawnee year's round would last all summer until time for the harvest in the beginning of September. Would they find the herd, would they get a plentiful supply of meat for their ceremonial banquets, would they be attacked by the enemy, would they live in health and at peace with one another—three thousand people in four Skidi villages and four Pawnee bands—each with its own ways and interests on a journey of 900 miles over the land and across the rivers?

As was their practice, it was the chiefs, priests, and medicine men that took the first formal steps toward initiating each new round of activities through the year so that the people were taught and reminded of what lay ahead. In the village, priest and chief shared almost equally in keeping life on an ordered course, but on the march it was the constant vigilance of the chief that determined the achievement of this goal. And so this season opened with a ritual meeting of the chiefs, validating their cosmic sanction and soliciting the confidence of the people.

The whole meaning of this ceremony was that the chiefs alone were taking responsibility for the welfare of the people on the hunt and that the sacred meat they were about to get was a great and Heaven-sent

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15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

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A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semi-cardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master

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796 783 778 776 of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night, the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

* [224] [772] The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theology of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology

• 756 773 [191] of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

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months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the harvest that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one connected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the procession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

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Just as the meeting was drawing to a close, as in all chiefs' meetings, an old man would climb up onto the roof of the lodge and cry out to the village what had been decided. In this case he did so early next morning. His wording was in a precise telegraphic style so that it could be clearly understood by everyone. He said:

> This was what was decided in the chiefs' meeting. White Eagle decided we are going to hunt in four days. Anything you have to do, get finished in that time. On the fifth day, we'll go out of the village. We'll camp on the other (south) side of the Loup River (*its-kari*, "potatoes-many").
>
> We'll camp there a whole day so that any of you that aren't quite through can join us any time that day and up to the evening of the sixth day. On the seventh day we are going to be moving upstream (westward).

The old man, having completed his announcement, went back into his lodge.

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Toward evening any old man who felt impelled might get up onto the roof of his house and talk to the people. He would say whatever was on his mind—about events in the past and their lessons for the future, or any other matters that seemed pertinent. Reviewing past events that were successful was considered a kind of sympathetic magic as well as of practical value. At this time the old man might talk about the fields and of how they were in the past. "All that," he would conclude "is in the past. But today we may have the same luck." Then he would continue in a different vein: "Try to help one another and take care of the children. The little ones like to swim and one must watch that they don't drown. I hope we come home well and find everything in good order."

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Such an old man was likely to speak gently and phrase his thoughts diplomatically and people listened carefully and thought about what he said. However, at the gambling grounds the gamblers had other matters on their minds. They were thinking about the good places they would come to along the way that were nice and smooth, with good buffalo grass growing on them—such a fine playing field for the hoop and pole game. They would discuss the different sites they were going to camp at where these would be found and agree between them that one would take along one stick and one the other so that they would have the equipment they needed for playing. For the inveterate gambler, this subject was always uppermost in his mind.

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Other men were thinking about how to get enough smoking tobacco to fill their needs, and the doctors were occupied with the herbs and medicines they would need to take along that were available only in this area. The tobacco was needed for ritual as well as for social purposes.

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They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican they would have to make before they could start north for the Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the Grand Ope[illegible]he associated doctors would give after the harvest, lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand man would pick a dry weed, *hawastatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil, and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute, the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent, dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and

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forty parfleches had been pledged. After the pledges were counted, the word went from tent to tent and everyone was full of anticipation of the color and excitement of the ceremony. In addition to this big medical association there were a number of private cults that the people generally took an interest in.

752 726 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped. This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski*.

244 512 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman, and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-cooked meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart, leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu*. They opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus*, with some bone grease instead of the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wandered up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women kept working with the beans.

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512 439 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't keep boys home like that."

512 796 956 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

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bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the leading doctors would wait until people got all through before beginning as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following day they went to the two fields and brought them in.

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Woman's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper time. Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of the old days in Old Village. He said:

> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.

Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.

"A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."

Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

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their way and touched the tree as if it were an enemy, claiming war honors and stating that they were entering the territory of the enemy. Then they brought it inside. 796

While the war parties were out, the priests had prepared the postholes. In each they placed a cake of buffalo fat sprinkled with some tobacco, the fat representing the earth and the tobacco the people. A similar cake of fat sprinkled with tobacco was placed in the center of the fireplace. These cakes were then taken outside and buried under the little mound outside to the east of the enclosure.

As each war party came in with its pole, the priest of that semicardinal-direction bundle offered it the pipe to smoke and sang the song ritual while the warrior danced four times and planted the tree in the posthole. All the branches had been trimmed from the posts except the very top ones. The priests sang songs referring to the appropriate colors connected with the semicardinal directions and each post was painted its proper color. [782] [533]

The next phase of the ceremony was considered its most vital part. The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person now recited certain acts of the creation by Heaven. The skull, fastened to a stick, was costumed to represent Heaven as in the first episode of the ground-breaking (*awari*), ceremony in the spring. The paraphernalia for decorating the skull, including the paints, was kept inside the bundle in a bladder bag when not in use. 796 798

Another symbolic object was a wooden bowl filled with water to represent a primordial pond or the waters in general. In the water was a shell to represent running water and the continuity of life. On the shell was placed the jaw of a gar pike, the head of a (thunder?) bird and the image of a turtle, all symbolizing the denizens of the water and the rains. The skull rested to the west, and to the east of it the bowl of water with the objects connected by a framework of sticks on which the turtle was placed with a clamshell over his middle. There were four smooth stones that were either meteorites or buffalo maw stones which came from the sacred bundle of the former Village Partly-on-a-Hill. The turtle and the shell were from the Southwest Direction bundle. The four smooth stones stood for the four quarters of the world.

The chief who had charge of the Skull bundle now stood up with the skull in his hands and, facing the bowl, recited the acts of the creation that had been performed by Heaven. The main part of the ceremony was now complete.

During the following night there were additional dramatic acts. Certain doctors appeared dressed in the skins of bears, loons, wildcats, and wolves, each connected with one of the four semicardinal directions. During the creation, as the Morning Star went out to conquer the Evening Star, he had to overcome each of these primordial animals who were 796 [756]

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PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

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The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony

796 THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with
• 756 the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysterious realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The
[622] chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were
[793] men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the
[787] doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate, introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The
756 animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and received a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge, the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he
756 was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. The Pawnee animal
173 cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

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wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called "East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was considered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent member of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs' council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing to give them any information they wanted in return for their services, and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members of the cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance were seated next to the old men still further in.

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.

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On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pumpkin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony. When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the association was attributed to an original visionary and images were constructed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elaborate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

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came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were summarized by my informant as:

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an involved ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals —all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with hereditary status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

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• 756 The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social [796] esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo [431] hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support [178] of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

756 The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of 796 two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors: 789 utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some [787] measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

787 A major difference between our experience and theirs should be especially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced 825 these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

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tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother, Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association. One day when they were alone together he broached the subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the *Raris-ta*, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations before, this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-speaking kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snakebite or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or power, *rut-patsat-kuriraru*, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa* Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, however, is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

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pio), who would send the snakes on earth to bite the teller. There are many other indications in Pawnee mythology of the fear and respect the Pawnees held for the power of the rattlesnake.

Later in the course of our account of the doctor performances, we shall see that Victory Call did receive Bear knowledge from his brother, but first he taught him rattlesnake knowledge.

> One day Victory Call said to Sitting Hawk, "Well, let's go." If luck were with them they would find a rattlesnake right away. Sure enough, there sat a snake curled up with his head sticking up in the middle. Victory Call said, "Go ahead and catch it." Sitting Hawk thought, "It's going to bite me." The snake knew that Sitting Hawk was afraid of him. His fangs were sticking up and he was getting ready to bite. Sitting Hawk grabbed him by the neck. The snake felt cold on his arm. Sitting Hawk put the snake down and began to talk to him. He said, "That's what I wanted to know. That's what I wanted to find out." The snake said to Sitting Hawk, "I'm just like you. But you whip me and kill me for nothing. That's why, when you come in my path, I rattle to you to let you know I'm here. If you get out of my way then, I don't have to poison you. But when you come and abuse us, we must do something about it."
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> Sitting Hawk now caressed Victory Call in blessing. The two men sat down and smoked a pipe together, offering puffs of smoke to the snake and talking to him. Then they went home and Victory Call gave Sitting Hawk some medicine to cure snakebite and showed him the weed it was prepared from.

Long after this time, when Sitting Hawk and Victory Call were dead and the tribe had moved to Oklahoma, Otter's older brother Fox Chief tried to transfer some rattlesnake power to him. But Otter failed from fear and hesitation:

> We two were walking along and we saw a big rattlesnake. Fox Chief told me to get hold of it, but I was afraid. Because of this, I would never have another chance. Fox Chief always had a little bundle of medicine in his buttonhole with fringes that hung down about four inches. He took a twig and chewed the end of it, dipping it in the medicine and then putting it near the end of the snake's nose. The snake relaxed and lay stretched out. He picked it up and put it in the crook of his arm so that it rested against the sheet that Fox Chief was wearing as a blanket. In this way he carried the snake home.
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> When we arrived at his earth lodge, his wife was sitting in front on a mat making a pair of moccasins. He said to her, "I've brought you something to eat." She was very pleased until she saw what he had

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brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone. And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing. 756

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their ceremony at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling. 756 755 [796]

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were consecrated accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle. 756 796 824 [778] [534]

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground. 756 796

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while [824]

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they ate a feast together. That evening, with a special ritual, it was stood in the ground next to the Bear Booth.

At the feast that afternoon, Big Doctor had given an accounting of how their meat supplies were holding up. Sixty rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat had been donated and these had to last for the whole proceedings. Including the present meal, they had used up fifteen. The doctors had been working for nine days. Two more were used cleaning the lodge of fleas, and, for the two days used in building the serpent, the turtle, and the witch woman, they had used up four containers.

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The question of wood for fuel also came up at this time. As the meal was coming to a close, the north errand man whispered into Big Doctor's ear that he should mention this matter in his closing speech, particularly as a number of chiefs were present at the session. Getting wood was normally the function of the women and now they would have to enlist the help of a considerable party of women to lay in a supply. The two chiefs present would tell the various members of their families asking the women to get wood for the doctors and then word would readily get around. Old Man High Water was also instructed to go from house to house soliciting volunteers, saying, "The doctors want you to go for wood for them." He was cautioned not to mention any particular amount lest the women feel they were being pressured into going. The chiefs would arrange to have scouts go out with the women to protect them. Other young men would go voluntarily and picket on the hills.

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ORGANIZING THE EARTH LODGE FOR THE CEREMONIAL PERFORMANCE—REHEARSALS AND CONSTRUCTION WORK

Work Corps to Prepare Earth Lodge for Ceremony—Fleas Burnt—Drums Repaired—Practice Sing—Meat Served the Singers—Building of Booths in Lodge—Building the Images

OF THE FOUR LEADERS of the Doctor Lodge, Sitting Hawk had the largest and most conveniently located earth lodge, and it was in his lodge that they decided to conduct the ceremony. The following are the details of the way in which they managed to get the work done and the ceremonial procedures connected with it.

As soon as they got back from the hunt and set up camp, the three other doctors called on Sitting Hawk and discussed the matter; two weeks later he made arrangements to begin to get the lodge ready. Like all the others in the village, his lodge was infested with fleas that had to be smoked out. He organized his work corps, first calling in the two doctors' errand men and then sending each of them in turn to bring in another young man to assist. The five had dinner at Sitting Hawk's camp, then met next morning at the lodge and got to work. They pulled up the beds and piled them outside on the roof of the long entrance passageway. Sitting Hawk supervising, two of them got to work with burning torches to smoke out the fleas on each side. The floor was carefully swept and the dust carried far from the lodge to be dumped. Dusty and tired, their legs red with flea bites, about five o'clock they

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took a swim in Beaver Creek and set out for Sitting Hawk's tent where they would be served dinner. Meanwhile, since word had gone all around the camp of what they were doing, other doctors decided to join them for supper. From this point on, all activities connected with the Doctor Lodge would be charged to the "Doctor Fund" of sixty parfleches of buffalo meat that had been pledged for the purpose. At each event the leader stated how much was being used for the current proceedings and how much of the total. At this meal, half a parfleche of buffalo meat was used up and it was so stated by Sitting Hawk.

The fleas would have to be burnt out one more time, and Sitting Hawk had told them that they would allow a day to pass in between and then do it on the subsequent day. As they were leaving the dinner that night, two other young doctors decided to join the work corps. The other two assistants, Man Chief and Fox Chief, decided to relax and do some gambling in the interim, before resuming their work next day.

When people in camp heard about what the doctors were doing, they all talked about speeding up their harvest. Someone would say, "Oh I'd like to see Bear!" Old ladies would say, "Oh, so they're cleaning the Doctor Lodge. Well it's high time. There ought to be a session in there already. When I was younger I used to be a good singer. When they went through the village, I used to sing." Other old ladies would reminisce about old times and about how many doctors there used to be in Old Village, Kitkehax-pakuxtu.

Now the men gathered at the lodge for the second bout with the fleas. Again Sitting Hawk supervised and two smoked them out on each side. The two additional young men cleared off the spider webs near the roof, for they were going to hang the cutouts up there; since they would have a large fire all during the sessions, the sparks might ignite the webs. Sitting Hawk wanted to keep them all busy so that during that day they didn't go off and gamble. They proceeded at a leisurely pace, sitting down for a smoke and telling stories every now and then. He sent his son Misery down to the Loup River to check the condition of the cedars and to locate a straight one about 4 inches in diameter. By late afternoon they took a long bath in Beaver Creek and then went to Sitting Hawk's tent for supper. On this occasion, the second half of the parfleche of meat from the Doctor's Fund was used up.

When everyone moved back into their earth lodges, Sitting Hawk's family had to divide up and move in with others. The women and children moved in with Chief's Road whose house was immediately to the west of theirs, and the boys went to the earth lodge of Comanche Chief into which Sitting Hawk's oldest son, Misery, was married.

While the others were cleaning the ceremonial lodge, the three other leading doctors had been working on the drums and other things. This had been mentioned among the guests at the dinner. Sitting Hawk had

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said, "Now while we're cleaning, it's only right that Big Doctor, Wonderful Old Bull, Pipe Offering, and Old Bull should be fixing their drums and other things so that the boys can go into the lodge and practice as soon as it is fixed up. We'd like the drums to sound good when we get in there." "That's right," some one else would say, "I've been wanting to sing even now, but the drum isn't fixed yet. It doesn't sound good."

At last everything was in order and the four leading doctors moved into the ceremonial lodge for the duration of the ceremony with the two errand men to do the cooking. That night they would have a practice sing with all the doctors who wanted to participate. The two leading doctors sent the two errand men out to invite them. They saw that the two men were appropriately clothed to go through the village, providing each with a buffalo robe which they wrapped around themselves with the hair side out, and an eagle-wing fan to carry. They filed out of the lodge one behind the other at a trot, and as they entered a lodge where a doctor lived they sat down one behind the other at the east with their eagle-wing fans in front of their faces. The appropriate response was for someone in the lodge to whisper into their right ear the question as to what they wished. They would answer also in a whisper that the doctor was to come right away. Then the two errand men would get up and trot out again, moving on to the next lodge where a doctor lived. Their mission did not always proceed with dispatch. Sometimes the two errand men got to a lodge where everyone was sleeping and the occupants would say, "Oh, I hate to get up," but they had to get up anyway and whisper their question and receive the whispered reply. In some lodges there were just young girls about and they said to each other, "You go and do it." "No, you go." Finally one would sit down next to the errand man and ask the question. He would whisper his reply, but not knowing the proper decorum, the girl would call right out loud, "Oh, I'll tell him." All these incidents were recounted in detail when the two men returned to the Doctor Lodge. In some places the people were eating and they made the errand men take a few bits of food before they would let them go. If the doctor happened to be home and was smoking, he would make them smoke with him a while before whispering his question and receiving his reply. Should the errand men meet a man outside the lodge on his way somewhere or toward the house, they would not discuss their business with him but would proceed to his lodge and notify the people there. As soon as the doctor was notified, he went straight to the Doctor Lodge. Everyone knew that on that night they were going to start by singing the doctor songs.

Twenty-six doctors came to the ceremonial lodge and Big Doctor opened the evening with a speech. He said, "Tonight we are going to practice our first songs so that we can send the birds, the winds, and

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• 756 796 everything on their way south for the coming winter. I have sent men out to see about willows for our booths. They report that there are good trees for us. I wanted you to know that in a few days we are going to start to set up the lodge. Now the leaves are turning yellow and they are falling. This is the way the year goes round and that's why I wanted to tell you so that you can get ready. In two or three days you can come up here and get the wood to build your booths. Meanwhile you must fix up your paraphernalia, your whistles, and anything else you will need. I don't want to take up too much time talking this evening, as we have a great deal to do."

[824] Now he instructed the errand men to go to two of the men who had pledged meat and to bring it to the lodge. They went, carrying a piece of tent skin between them, and when they got to the lodges the meat was removed from the parfleches and placed on the skin, then carried by the errand men to the ceremonial lodge where it was set down near the southeast pillar. Now Sitting Hawk stated how their account stood. He said, "We used half a parfleche of meat cleaning up the lodge the first time, then the rest of the parfleche when we did the second cleaning. Now with these two, three parfleches will be used up."

756 796 533 Now the first song was begun and men, women, and children crowded in around the outside doorway to listen. They would say, "Oh, I like a good song." "Oh, I wish I could sing that song." A woman would remark, "I wonder when they'll put in the booths. I'd like to see the Bear." Inside the singing and dancing continued. The men were not costumed but simply painted, as this was a practice dance.

After the first round of singing, the spectators were told they had to leave. Big Doctor said, "It's all over." This was because they were now [782] going to make their ceremonial smoke offerings to the powers and outsiders could not be permitted to witness this. Some doctors refrained from singing in the first round altogether because they wanted to keep their songs from the public.

756 796 At the west were sitting the four leading doctors with their wives sitting directly behind them. On each side, along the north and south, the rest of the doctors were ranged. At the east ends on each side were eight chiefs, two from each of the four villages, viz., at the southeast, two from Village-across-a-Ridge and two from Pumpkin-Vine, and at the northeast, two chiefs from Bottomlands Village and two from Wolf-in-Water. Beyond these at the southeast were the old men, and an errand man at each side.

In the interim between the first and second round of singing, one of the eight chiefs got up and spoke on behalf of all of them. The doctors on their part spoke and said, "The echo of the drum drives back sickness when it comes."

[533] The singing alternated between the sides, first on the north and then

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on the south. When they had gone halfway down the line, Big Doctor appointed someone to get up and cut the meat into portions while the errand man put up the water to boil. As the singing continued, the errand man finally announced that the meat was all cooked and a spread was laid down east of the fireplace and 43 portions were set out for the singers. It was midnight or later when the singing was over and the four drums and a number of gourd rattles were brought back to Big Doctor. He made a brief speech: "Now in three days we are going to get the wood for our booths. We must look to the future and make our plans. Now we are going to eat." Then he appointed two men for each side to do the serving of the meat. One portion was sent to the house where Sitting Hawk's wife was staying, "for the lodge." Before they could eat, an offering of meat and fat was made to the spirits in the significant directions of the universe. When the offering was completed, all said, "Nawa."

One more matter had to be attended to before the meat could finally be served. The meat was arranged on the spread according to where the people were sitting, and a stick was placed in the middle to act as a divider between the north and south halves. The pieces of meat were of two different sizes, some particularly large and some of ordinary proportions. Big Doctor asked Sitting Hawk to see that the special portions were placed in position so that they would be properly assigned. There were to be special portions for the four doctors at the west and their wives, for the eight chiefs, the two errand men, one each for the person sitting at the north on behalf of the North Star and at the south on behalf of the South Star, and for the four men who had been specially appointed to do the serving. Three or four extra pieces were set aside for possible mistakes in the count; if no mistakes had been made, these extra portions were placed on top of those that had already been set out for the chiefs. The smaller-size pieces were set out for the rest of the people. The meat was passed out in formal order and then the soup, in the same way. The feast this time consisted of meat and soup only.

By now it was extremely late and Big Doctor made some very brief closing remarks. He said, "Now we know what we have to do (viz., come back in three days and get wood for the booths). Now we have eaten. Now we can go." All got up and went home. It would take six or seven days more before the dance preparations were complete.

The next stage in their preparations was the building of the booths and other structures in the ceremonial lodge. As announced, this would be three days after the practice sing. On the appointed morning before daybreak, Big Doctor told the errand men to go to certain specified lodges and get four parfleches of dried buffalo meat that had been pledged so that they could have their feast that evening. The four donors had already been alerted at the previous meeting.

• 756 796 [824] The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver, and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure. When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each, [533] and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him: "Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

756 796 824 276 782 They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the timber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the unlit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

756 796 824 Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

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stand at the west. After the smoke offerings, he made a series of cuts in the tree at the four cardinal points in the standard order—first at the west, then north, then east and then south, cutting it so that it would fall gently to the east where two men were standing to catch it so that the limbs would not break. They sharpened it at the stub end so that it would stand up in the lodge. All chips were gathered and either thrown into the creek or carried home and burned in the fire. After gathering as many willow saplings as they could carry, the procession for the Doctor Lodge set out with Sitting Hawk in the lead and two men each carrying the six cottonwoods, one at each end of the tree.

Halfway home, they stopped. They began to make animal motions and to try to hypnotize one another (*patsaku*, "shoot one another"). Some of them had their buffalo robes on, some did not. They made peculiar motions with their eagle-wing fans, touching the ground. Then some were knocked down and got up growling and grunting. One of them "hypnotized" another by trying to put a corn cob in his throat, making his mouth all bloody. Another attempted to put fish bones in someone's throat, with the same result. The victims vomited up these things without too much damage being done and continued to move along with the cottonwoods. When the little boys saw this they got excited and said, "Look at those fellows! Look at that big bear over there!" As they arrived at the village, they made a second stop and again hypnotized each other. Then they took up the trees once more and went toward the ceremonial lodge. As they were arriving, Big Doctor took up his gourd rattle and began to sing. They came in and when the singing was over, Sitting Hawk gave the pipe back to Pipe Offering at the west. The cottonwood that had been ceremonially gathered was carefully placed to the east of the fireplace with its stub end pointing west and the head end eastward toward the exit. The second "west" tree was placed in the same position beside it and the others in any order on the ground, nearer the entrance. Now Big Doctor, getting the pipe from Pipe Offering, smoked all the trees ceremonially, treating each one in turn as in the woods.

They could now proceed to build the booths. Meanwhile, the errand men did the cooking. First the six cottonwoods were erected, three on each side. Then the willow partitions and fronts were added. Everyone was arguing—"This is our lot; move over a bit." "Well, we have a lot of buffalo!" "Well, we have a lot of deer too!" The leaders stood on the inside directing the apprentices who were doing their work. The willows were all piled up on the north side of the entrance while they proceed with the job. At the southeast the errand men were preparing the kettle so that they could cook their meat. They had had nothing to eat all day. The wives of the four leading doctors had brought in four buckets of boiled dried corn kernels and set them down on either side of

the southeast lodge pole. Sometimes a woman would come in and give the "boss" of one of the animal booths a gift of corn bread so that later on during the performance they would be permitted to sit near the booth and get a better view instead of crowding in at the entryway.

When the food was ready, Big Doctor spoke and told them they were going to interrupt their activity and eat now, and that they could resume their work later. He said that he himself would make the offering to the powers with the corn and save time. The errand men were instructed to distribute the food.

The meal over, Big Doctor said, "Now we have eaten. Now you can go and tend to anything you want to. But after that, return here and get back to work!" They went off home to take their extra dry meat to their families, to tend their horses, and to take a little rest before going on with the work in the evening. The four main doctors did not linger long away from the ceremonial lodge. They had to fix up the gourd rattles, drums, and other things. Old-Man-That-Chief who has elk (*pax*) power was too old to wander about. If he should want to go home, someone must lead him. Most of the time he remained in the lodge throughout the ceremonial period.

That night and the next they built the serpent, the witch, and the turtle. They worked at night when they would not be observed. The serpent would take a whole night, the witch and the turtle perhaps another night. They had to bring in quantities of clay from the river bottom to do all this modeling. Twelve of them did the modeling—the four doctors at the west, and Old Bull and also the son of the subleader at the north, Wonderful Old Bison; the son of Sitting Hawk, Misery; also Angry Horse of the Bear Lodge. Bringing Horses was called in by Pipe Offering to assist him. On the next night, after the serpent was done they divided up, six working on the witch woman and six on the turtle-fireplace. Then the skin cutouts of the celestial powers were hung in place and the two loon skins put before the altar. Finally they were to set out for the cedar tree. They followed the same kind of procedure as for the cottonwoods, except that only one tree was obtained on this occasion.

A suitable cedar had been spotted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy on the Loup River, and before sunrise the next day a party of twenty doctors led by Strikes-the-Enemy set out to cut it down and bring it back to the lodge. Symbolically the cedar represented the Bear whose celestial affiliation was with the sun and the moon. The cottonwood symbolized the Beaver and the waters of the earth. Strikes-the-Enemy led the party, carrying a bear-hide rattle. On the return journey, they stopped half way and had a hypnotic contest as described in Chapter 34. When the party reached within four feet of the lodge, they halted and

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Big Doctor prepared to receive them and the tree on behalf of the Doctor Lodge. At his signal they came inside carrying the tree, stub end forward, and walked around the fireplace four times through south, west, north, and east where they stopped and placed the tree with its stub end touching the rim of the fireplace and its head end pointing toward the entrance at the east.

Pipe Offering made the offering of tobacco, smoke, and ashes with the sacred pipe to the three vital parts of the tree—the base, the middle, and the top as they had previously done with the cottonwoods. Meanwhile the errand men were sent outside to start to boil the dried buffalo meat for their feast.

All this time the other doctors had remained inside their respective booths, only the officials of the Doctor Lodge conducting the smoke offering ceremony. These included the four doctors at the west, one doctor each at the north and at the south, one old man (*kurahus*) each, at the northeast and the southeast, and the two errand men, one on each side of the entrance way.

Now that the cedar tree had been brought into the lodge and received, it was time for all of them to eat. The doctors all came out of their booths and sat right down on the serpent as there was no other place to sit between the booths and the fireplace. Three buckets of boiled corn kernels had been donated and these constituted the first course of their banquet. As always, they had to share the food with the supernatural powers before it could be eaten by the people, and the serving followed an order that was determined by the particular powers they had called on for the occasion. After eating, the ceremony to stand the cedar in its place was performed and then anyone who wanted to could go home.

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THE WOMEN GET WOOD FOR THE DOCTORS

Women Volunteer to Get Wood—Women Invited to Entertainment and Feast at Doctor Lodge —Quartz Crystal Sleight of Hand

When Old-Man-High-Water went around the village notifying the women, he told them to meet outside the village and that two men would go along to protect them. Meanwhile Eagle Chief had sent one of his wives to ask Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy to take over this task. They knew they would be asked and they were all ready to go. They were given instructions to lead the women south of the creek rather than to the west where the enemy was likely to be lurking. As the women started for the appointed meeting place, other men set out for the surrounding hills to picket.

Twenty women had volunteered. There was a standard backload of wood that the women usually carried (¼ cord or 2 cubic feet—2 armloads; eight armloads = 1 cord or 4 backloads). For each night that the doctors performed, they would need four backloads. Besides their preparations during the current week, the doctors were likely to give five performances, so that the women have to go on three more such expeditions to keep them supplied.

While the women were in the timber cutting the wood, the two scouts were standing on a hill watching them closely. Some women were saying, "Don't take too much. Take a light load. There are a lot of us." As one woman would get loaded up, she would stand aside and wait for the others. Finally when most of them had gathered, the men called out, "All of you here yet?"

One was found to be missing and when she finally emerged they all

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lined up one behind the other and set out for the village. As they approached, people were watching from the housetops, saying, "They're coming with wood." A ridge ran east and west above the village and the women sat down there to rest before coming in. They were wishing they could take a bath in the lake beside the road. "Have you rested enough?" asked Roaming Scout. "Yes." "Come on, then." When they had gone halfway into the village, their scouts left them and went home and the women proceeded to the Doctor Lodge where they dumped the wood, some of it inside and some outside to the north of the door. Big Doctor said, "Now you ladies go home and change your clothes. Dress up in your best. Paint your cheeks and then come back because you are going to have a feast. Tell those two men who went with you to dress up and come. Who were they?" "Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy?" "All right."

By about three or four in the afternoon, the children who were waiting around to see everything sighted the line of women with the two men in the lead going to the Doctor Lodge. The women were carrying their wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons. They were seated along the north side of the lodge, the two men at the western end of the line. Wonderful Old Bull of the north side was doing the honors for the four main doctors. The wives of the doctors had contributed four buckets of boiled corn which were now brought in and the meat was given by one of the designated donors. An offering of corn was made to all the objects in the lodge, and it was served to the guests. After the second helping some of the women were patting their stomachs and saying, "My, I ate too much!" Those with more foresight had brought a bucket along to take the extra food home.

All the doctors except the four at the west remained in their booths. In anticipation of the forthcoming entertainment, some were calling out, "I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of that good-looking woman over there!" The women, who were apt to be shy on such occasions, were whispering among themselves instead of speaking out as the men usually did. The three big doctors at the west supplied the talk. "That one—I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of her!" "No you won't. That's the one I want." While they were eating the corn, twenty-two pieces of the cooked meat were spread out on a tent skin ready to be served, and as the women finished their corn they were served soup in their bowls. Wonderful Old Bull, representing all the head doctors, served them with the meat. Finally the dishes and pots were cleared away, the women put their bowls behind their backs, and the entertainment began.

At the west, Wonderful Old Bull and Sitting Hawk began to drum and sing doctor songs, while the doctors in different booths made all sorts of animal sounds. The little boys ran in to see what was going on. They were saying, "Now they're taking their quartz crystals." At this juncture,

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the two head doctors got up and danced facing the booths—Big Doctor down the north side and Pipe Offering down the south side. Each doctor carried a gourd rattle in his left hand, an eagle-wing fan in the right and as they went along the side they said, "Hu', hu', hu'," to signify that they were bent on hypnotizing. They passed along their booths from west to east and then back again.

Now the two doctors set out from the west again, Big Doctor in the lead and Pipe Offering behind him. They moved very carefully inside the serpent, making sure their feet did not touch it. When they arrived in front of the women sitting along the north side, they made odd motions and Big Doctor fell over. When he came out of his daze he patted his hand on his stomach, passing it up toward his throat and the quartz crystal came out of his mouth. Then Pipe Offering did the same and the two doctors went back to their place at the west. Now the other doctors all came out of their booths in a bunch, rolling and writhing, and they took the crystals out of the women. Old-Man-That-Chief who was blind asked to be led in front of an old woman and he took a crystal out of her.

By this time it was five-thirty and Big Doctor made his closing speech, stating that they had seen their "romping and playing" and now the show was over. They had shared a feast together and now all got up and left, including the spectators. On the way out everyone was laughing at Old-Man-That-Chief taking a crystal out of an old lady.

The doctors put away their "quartz crystal" paraphernalia and discussed plans for the forthcoming performance. Big Doctor said, "The day after tomorrow, in the evening, Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance. Tomorrow evening we doctors are all going to parade through the village. Anyone who wants to take part in the performance to be given the day after tomorrow, ought to get everything ready!" The big public performances were now about to begin.

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THE BIG DOCTOR PERFORMANCE

A Combination of Theater and Ceremony—the Form of the Performance—the "Scalped Ones" Mime—Swallowing a Deer Head—the Mud Duck—the Parade through the Village—the Round of Ceremonial Activities—the Sleight-of-Hand Performances

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IT MUST BE REMEMBERED that the doctor performance was both ceremony and theater and so regarded by the doctors themselves. The whole organization of the acts, the costuming, and the stage effects were designed to impress and entertain the people while at the same time supporting the confidence of the doctors. While for us in analogous situations, a trilogy or three-act play is considered most satisfying, with a five-act performance secondarily acceptable, for the Pawnees the four-act or fourfold organization is fundamental and based on their cosmic ideology. For more complex organizational forms he would develop four units with a final unit added, an introduction with four basic units less often, or two double-fours, one four following the other with an interim unit between them. During the twenty-day period in which the actual performance would take place, the sequence of acts on subsequent days had a "double-four" character with an interim unit of a different kind, and an introductory unit to the whole series and one in closing. The sequence of the kinds of acts presented might be summarized as A-B A A B—C A C—B A A B-A conceived by the doctors as four B's with at least four-day intervals between each of them filled in either with A's or blank days, with the interim C A C being a special elaboration of the four-day interim theme between the second and third B. The B unit was a large-scale animal mime performed in the late afternoon in the outdoor

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plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kihaxkutsu*, dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsaburuksu*, who were thickly plastered with mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the tribe. Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

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One of the principal actors in this mime was Old Lady Tsitawa, who was the leader of the black-tailed deer cult and the only woman leader in the lodge. She appeared wearing a short black skirt of tanned hide and a tanned hide shawl. Sometimes one and sometimes two of these "Scalped Ones" outdoor performances would be given in the interval between the second and third Big Dance, an indoor performance (A) intervening between the two Scalped Dances, so that at least four days would pass between the two Big Dance episodes.

The night before each indoor performance (A), the doctors who were to perform on the next evening paraded through the village in costume, stopping in as many earth lodges as they could and singing their songs. The general sequence of the sessions was as follows:

A. Introductory performance indoors, to open the proceedings.
I. B. Outdoor Big Dance the following day in the late afternoon.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
II. B. Outdoor Big Dance, late afternoon (second big dance).
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, *Kitsaburuksu*—outdoors.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, outdoors.
III. B. Outdoor Big Dance (third big dance).
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
IV. B. Outdoor Big Dance, the fourth and final one.
A. Indoor performance at night, to close. Grand Finale with the Buffalo Clown warriors attacking the Bears and conquering them.

After the women who had gotten their advance fuel supply had gone home, Big Doctor announced to the other doctors, "Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance the day after tomorrow in the evening. Tomorrow evening, we doctors are all going to parade through the village." He also reminded them that any doctors who were going to join the two head doctors in giving a performance would have to make their plans for the parade and for the performance the following evening.

As usual, there would be four acts. Big Doctor planned to demonstrate how he swallowed a deer head whole. Pipe Offering was going to make a mud duck come alive. The third on the program would be Brave Horse, whose son would succeed in locating a horse's tail that would be carried away during the performance by one of the audience and hidden

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in an earth lodge in a place known only to himself. The fourth act was to be by Brave Shield or High Noon, who was a buffalo doctor. He would shoot an arrow into the chest of his young son, Yellow Calf, who would be impersonating a young buffalo.

The Pawnee doctor, wearing nothing but his loin cloth, was apparently a highly successful illusionist, as attested by the number of hard-headed white spectators who were thoroughly mystified. Among them was Major Frank North who early became a clerk in the trade store on the Pawnee reservation and later rose to be the leader of the U.S. Battalion of Pawnee Scouts that were regularly inducted into the U.S. Army. North, having a good grasp of the language and being familiar with the personalities involved, on witnessing the act where "the Bear" rips open the abdomen of a boy and eats part of the liver, could only conclude either that a dummy had been used or that the boy had actually been murdered on the spot. George Bird Brinnell of Yale, who had been among the Pawnee in Nebraska, after their removal visited a medicine man in Oklahoma and he too was at a loss to explain what he had seen in broad daylight. Luther North, young brother of Frank, who was with him on this occasion said that while he was on duty with the Pawnee scouts in Nebraska some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. "One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment as a man," he reported. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and, rubbing his hands together, produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. There are also eyewitness accounts of such feats as cutting off a foot during the course of a performance, reattaching it backward and then restoring it to normal.

My informant who had participated in some of these feats from the operational side was by no means mystified. The illusions were carefully planned, with assistants planted in the audience and all the practical details organized with great precision. The methods for convincing the audience that are familiar to us, such as allowing the spectators to examine some of the objects involved, were freely used. Various lighting effects produced by lowering or brightening the fire were also employed. Knowing all this, Evarts continued to believe in the divine intervention in the process, while a friend of similar age, David Gillingham, remained an unbeliever from his boyhood on into later life.

Now on the first evening before their performance, the doctors got ready for their parade through the village, *wi-ti-kihar-rar-itsax-ka-wu*, "now-it-dance-they-through-the-village-among-going." The first contingent comprised the four leading doctors at the west. They made an extensive tour of the village, going into each earth lodge as far as they could

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manage it and stopping east of the fireplace where they stood and sang. Then they went around the fireplace from east, by south, west, north and then out of the lodge and into the next one, where they again sang and walked around the fireplace, continuing until they had visited a considerable number. The next contingent was the Horse Doctors who would perform next evening, led by Brave Horse, making a similar tour, followed by their wives or any other women that wanted to join them in their songs.

Finally the Buffalo Doctors went through led by Leading Buffalo (*Taraha-rakitawiu*, "buffalo-outstanding"). As one of their number Brave Shield was going to demonstrate how he would shoot an arrow at his son Yellow Calf's chest and leave the boy unharmed. Brave Shield was also in the procession followed by Yellow Calf's grandmother Grieves-the-Enemy, who had given his father a gift so that he would teach the boy. All over the village there were abandoned cache pits, and, although the women tried to throw their old sweepings into them in order to fill them up, they never quite succeeded and from time to time someone that was not very familiar with the particular part of the village fell in. On this occasion as Brave Shield's group was going along they came to an old cache pit and the group separated, walking around it. But Grieves-the-Enemy was so preoccupied with her singing that she fell straight in. She yelled as loud as she could, but everyone was singing so loud that no one could hear her. Finally when the next party came passing that way and the men began to walk around the pit, they heard the old lady yelling and got a ladder so that she could climb out. "I was singing for Brave Shield when I fell in and they never heard me," she said. The men asked her, "Are you hurt?" "No, I just hit my knees," she said. "That's good!"

Now those doctors who were not performing the next evening were free to go home. The others remained in the Doctor Lodge all night and the next day, fasting until the following morning after the performance. That night in the ceremonial lodge, each leader talked over their strategy with his assistants. Brave Horse said to his son, "They're going to hide the white horse's tail and I'll tell you where (so that you will be able to find it when the time comes during the performance). It will be in the house of Leading Chief, right in his bed, where his wife sleeps—the bed over which his small bundle, *tsatki*, hangs. During the performance at the appointed time, you go in there and whistle around and put your hand right there and get it." In this manner, Brave Horse briefed his young son. The plan was that the man in the audience who offered to hide the tail would be in league with them.

The two leading doctors simply talked over the specific feats they would perform without discussing any of the mechanisms involved in their performance. Big Doctor said, "I have a whole deer head with antlers on.

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I'm going to swallow it." Pipe Offering told them that he would bring a mud duck to life in some water.

Yellow Calf was to have four sharp arrows shot at him. When everyone had arranged what they would do and all their paraphernalia was in order, they all went to bed. Some of the doctors who were not performing that next evening decided not to remain at home, but to sleep in the ceremonial lodge anyway.

The next morning they all had corn for breakfast that had been supplied by Big Doctor's wife. At all times, there had to be at least two doctors in each booth, regardless of whether they were going to perform or not. Now they all concentrated into one booth on each side and the serving man placed one large bowl of corn in each while they all sat around and ate from it. One bowl was given to the two errand men which they took aside and ate together. This had all been directed and arranged by Big Doctor. About three in the afternoon, the other doctors began to wander in and each was in turn served a bowl of corn that had been donated for the purpose. Only those who were going to perform that evening did not eat at this time.

Just before dark, all the doctors came out of the ceremonial lodge dressed in their costumes and stood outside and sang and then went in again. After the last group, everyone crowded into the vestibule to watch. In the procession were Brave Shield followed by the boy, Yellow Calf, dressed in a buffalo-calf robe. The side of his body was marked with white feathers where he was going to be shot that evening; his grandmother followed behind singing.

There were four or five bird doctors. One of them was dressed in feathers with a whistle in his mouth. All imitated birds and then went back into the lodge. They circled around and the crowd stood around them at a little distance; some people were on the top of the earth lodge.

On each side of the door, a brave was stationed to keep order and keep the crowd out while the final preparations were being made inside the lodge. As soon as the errand man signaled that things were ready, the people rushed in and packed the entranceway. The boy Otter pushed his way to the front of the crowd and the brave tried to persuade him to go home, saying, "You ought to be home, little boy. Nothing but big men in here." But the boy persisted and was finally allowed to stand next to him.

Finally the braves went inside and sat down, one next to the northeast booth and the other next to the southeast, the little boy following after.

Now the drums began to sound and the two leaders started off. Big Doctor went down past the booths on the north side facing them and Pipe Offering down the south, and after each had retraced his steps they arrived at the west where the two doctors crossed paths—Big Doctor going down the south side and back and Pipe Offering down the north side

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and back, arriving at the west, where they stopped. The drums stopped beating and meanwhile Sitting Hawk and Wonderful Old Bull had risen and all four leaders remained standing at the west.

Big Doctor now moved forward from among the leadership and began his act. He was to swallow a whole deer head with the antlers on. He was assisted by his son, He-Kills-a-Person (*Tsahiks-ti-ki*, "person-he-kills"), who now handed his father the head. With Big Doctor in the lead, his son following and three other doctors behind them, they moved around the fireplace at a half trot by north, east and south and stoppped at the west. Before placing the deer's nose into his mouth as a first step, Big Doctor allowed the spectators to examine the head to show them that it was real. Then he put the deer's nose into his mouth and when the head was about halfway in, the procession again started around the fireplace, by north, east, and south; when they had nearly arrived back at the west, Big Doctor swallowed the entire head—the men behind him motioning with their eagle-wing fans down along the back of his body in order to help him swallow it. After he had swallowed it, he stopped at the west of the fireplace and gave thanks, first by putting his hand on the rim, then on his mouth and then on his abdomen where the deer head should now be contained since he had swallowed it. Then he made a very brief statement to the doctors, declaring, "Now doctors, I am going to keep it (viz., the deer head he had swallowed). That's all." Then he went back to his place.

Next on the program was Pipe Offering, the leading doctor of the south side of the Doctor Lodge. He would convert a mud duck into a real live one and then back again to mud. He had no special assistants as the other three main doctors helped him. He had a duck modeled out of mud and a large wooden bowl of water. All four doctors began to sing and he put the bowl of water west of the fireplace. The errand man was told to make the fire bright. Then Pipe Offering stood at the west and he raised his mud duck, and as he brought his hands down, all four doctors were singing. Just as the mud duck touched the water, it said, "Quack, quack, quack," and ran all around. Now the three other doctors raised their voices and sang as loud as they could, and when Pipe Offering picked the duck up from the water, it was a mud duck again.

The other doctors removed the bowl of water while Pipe Offering addressed the assembled company. He said: "Now spectators and doctors, now you have seen me." From among the spectators, Roaming Leader walked up to Pipe Offering and, taking his new blanket from his own shoulders, placed it on Pipe Offering in gratitude for his performance. As he received the blanket, Pipe Offering said to Roaming Leader, "You will have good luck wherever you go. This is what I depend on and also on my Mother Earth." Now Roaming Leader rejoined the crowd of spectators and Pipe Offering said, "You spectators and doctors have

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witnessed what I have done. It was with great difficulty that I performed this feat." Then he went back to his place at the west and rejoined the other three doctors there.

The third act of the evening was that of Brave Horse, whose son would find a horse's tail after it had been hidden by a spectator in one of the earth lodges in the village. As soon as Pipe Offering sat down, whistling was heard. This was Brave Horse's son, blowing on his whistle. Now Brave Horse said to the spectators, "I want one of you to volunteer to take the horse's tail off the boy and hide it in an unknown place. No matter how obscure the place is, as you will see, the boy will find it easily." Leading Horse soon volunteered from among the spectators, but in fact it had all been prearranged—"the volunteer" going straight to the place agreed upon beforehand. Returning to the Doctor Lodge he said, "It's hidden." The boy was sent on his way, blowing his whistle, and his father went around and around in the lodge also blowing his whistle, in order that his boy would succeed. The boy made straight for the lodge of Leading Chief where his father had told him it would be the night before. As he entered, the occupants asked him what he had come for and he said, "My father told me the tail would be in here where the bundle is," thus giving away the whole subterfuge to the people in the lodge. When he got back to the ceremony, his father was still whistling triumphantly for his boy's accomplishment in finding the tail. He addressed the assembled company, saying, "You see what my boy did!" Long afterward the story came out. The boy in his defense said that he could not deceive Leading Chief for he called him by the kin term, brother, *irari*, and it would be unethical not to be truthful with him.

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The fourth and final act for the evening was that of Brave Shield, a buffalo doctor. He was to shoot four arrows at the chest of his son, Yellow Calf, at close range, but the boy would remain uninjured. The four doctors at the west were singing and rattling with their gourds. Brave Shield was holding four arrows. He brought the boy from the booth. On his ribs Yellow Calf had a round disk of soft white feathers where he was to be shot. He was imitating a buffalo calf and he went around the lodge four times, by west, north, east and south, with his father Brave Shield following after him. As they went, Brave Shield shot with his arrows into the ground around the fireplace, once at the north, once at the east, once at the south, and once at the west. On the final round Brave Shield pulled up the arrows one by one, and stopping at the east where the spectators were, gave them the arrows to examine so that they could see what sharp points they had. The arrows passed from one end of the line to the other and were then returned to Brave Shield. Yellow Calf was standing at the south side of the fireplace facing west, with his arms extended so that his ribs were exposed. Brave Shield went to the north side opposite him and with the four doctors at the west rattling

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and singing with all their might, he made a running jump over the fire, landing right in front of Yellow Calf on the south side where he released his arrow. The arrow jumped back over the lodge with its head mashed and bent. Now the boy proceeded through the west to the north side, facing eastward with his arms extended, while his father remained on the south. Again Brave Shield jumped over the fire close to the boy and shot his arrow and again it glanced off and flew across the room—the point all bent and broken. The buffalo dancers now instructed the boy to stand at the west facing north, while his father was at the east, and the same performance was repeated. Finally the boy stood at the east with his father at the west—the father jumping over the fireplace and making his final shot. The shooting being over, the father led the boy to the south position and, warming his hands over the fireplace, placed them on the boy's chest where he had been shot, repeating this four times. Then he shook the boy out of his daze a bit and sent him off to the Buffalo Booth. Brave Shield moved around the fireplace by west, north, and then east where the spectators were and showed them all how the heads of the arrows were broken and macerated. On inquiring of my informant how this was done, he said he thought that someone had been planted among the spectators to help change the arrows before they were passed around, or they might have been changed when they glanced off the boy's side and flew all the way across the room, either before they began their journey through the air or when they were picked up.

By this time it was midnight or one o'clock in the morning and the doctors all sang:

Tatix-kurisari, I am-playing (like a child)
Witi-ratku-tawaki, myself-for-me-to enjoy

Big Doctor made a final announcement to the crowd: "There'll be no performance tomorrow night. After that we'll have one again. Well now that's all!" Everyone left. Late the next afternoon they would have a big dance on the plaza outside the ceremonial lodge.

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THE FIRST BIG DANCE

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Procession of Doctors Impersonating Animals—the Bears Fight the Rest of the Animals—Victory Call's Participation—the Doctors' Meal

• 756 796 536 EVERYONE MADE SURE TO COME home early that evening so that they would be in time to see the show. By five o'clock there was a large crowd gathered around the space in front of the Doctor Lodge, including many little boys and people visiting from the South Bands.

One could hear the drums inside the lodge and then the doctors came out. In the lead were the two errand men, Good Eagle on the right and Big Bear at the left, each one holding a loon (*kuhut*). Right behind them came the four leading doctors, two by two—Big Doctor and Pipe Offering and then Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull and Sitting Hawk. Behind these came the drummers and then the other doctors two by two. As they circled the dance grounds, the two drummers sang, while the men ahead of them kept step to a dance, the two errand men swinging the loons forward.

Now as one looked in the doorway of the ceremonial lodge, one could see a "deer" jumping up inside. Different kinds of deer came out now; a black-tailed deer (played by Brave Bow), a reindeer (played by Fox Scarf), behind him an elk (played by Might-Be-a-Chief, son of That-Chief and trained by him). Each of these deer blew on a different kind of whistle. The next contingent to emerge were the horses led by Brave Horse with his boys following after him. They were running around here and there blowing their whistles when the black horse came. Next there were two wolves, one played by the son of Big Doctor, He-Kills-a-Person, and the other, *Hatuxka*, Won't-Flee-from-the-Enemy, who played the white wolf.

The procession was completed with the two men dressed in bearskins, one of them Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, and the other, Sitting Hawk's

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brother Victory Call, who was Otter's father. The two bears blocked the entrance so that the other animals would not be able to get back in. Finally they moved aside just long enough for the doctors to get in and then closed ranks again. As the doctors went inside, one could see smoke, dust, and ashes coming out of the smokehole of the ceremonial lodge, and one could hear noise inside. This was because the doctors were in there.

Now all the animals tried to get in too, but the bears blocked their way. The deer stood by pretending to be grazing casually, while the bear sat around looking equally casual. When the deer got close, he again had to jump away. The deer, horses, and wolves all wanted to get in but the bear stayed close to the door. The horses blew their whistles to get in, but the bear remained stationary. He tried to catch the colt, but the colt jumped back. Finally the bear looked the other way for a minute and some of the animals managed to run in. The deer got in but the white wolf had a hard time. The bears tried their best to catch him and they both blocked the way, but finally he squeezed in and only the other wolf was left. If the bears managed to catch him, they would rip open his abdomen and eat some of his liver. He huffed and puffed and tried his hardest to get into the lodge. White smoke (viz., clay) came out of his mouth with the effort. This got the bears angry and one could see the bristles of their hair standing up on the backs of their necks. Finally the wolf jumped right over the bear and got into the lodge, and this made everyone laugh.

At one of the later Big Dance episodes Sitting Hawk had instructed "the two bears" to try their best to catch a deer, a horse, or a wolf. Misery had all his implements ready inside his bear robe. Misery sat at the north side of the entranceway to the lodge looking toward the inside, and Victory Call at the south side somewhat away from the door looking around outside. The animals circled around the dance grounds four times, then tried to get back into the lodge but were prevented by the bears. The horses had buffalo-hair ropes that they were dragging along the ground. The deer managed to skip in, but the white horse, blowing his whistle, was blocked by Misery, who looked very angry with the hairs on his bear neck bristling. Twice the horse approached and managed to escape, with Misery just missing catching the rope. He began to puff and blow. Everyone was yelling to the horse, "He might catch you yet!" Finally the horse made a quick turn and Misery grabbed him too. Everyone on the housetops yelled, "There old man, I told you they'd get you." Both bears laid him down on his back and held him with his arms and legs spread out. Then Misery stuck in his bear claw and made a slit downward, laying open the whole stomach. He pulled out a piece of liver and Victory Call came up and got a piece. Everyone was shouting, "Just look at that old man there. Now old man you can never get

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• 756 796 536 789 enough to eat to fill you up any more!" (They meant that now that his liver was gone his stomach had lots of room to expand.) After the two bears got through, they jumped on their victim and healed him up. They had medicine in their mouths for this purpose which they rubbed on the victim's stomach to heal him up. When they got off, the people could see that he was all right again. Then they shook him a bit and as he came out of his daze, he got up and thought there was nothing wrong with him. He just blew on his whistle and ran into the lodge. But the people knew better. They said, "He can whistle away all right, but he won't ever be able to get enough to eat to fill himself up now!"

756 796 536 This was the first time that Victory Call had participated in this act and he went over to his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and caressed him in blessing. "This is what I wanted to know," he said. From now on, Victory Call could don his bear suit and go through this performance on his own. In return, he had taught Sitting Hawk how to handle rattlesnakes.

After all the animals had gone into the lodge, the public show was over. Inside the errand men would be busy cooking the meal. All sixty doctors would be there and they would use up three parfleches of meat to feed them all.

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THE DANCE OF THE SCALPED ONES

Impersonate Scalped Warriors Instead of Animals in This Dance—the Song That Is Sung—the Dance Explained

THE DAY AFTER the first Big Dance there was to be an indoor performance in the evening like the first one but with four different acts. The men who were to participate would start to prepare themselves in the morning after they had finished their breakfast, refraining from eating till the next morning. Just before dark they circled about before the lodge and sang as an announcement of what the performance was to be. A granddaughter of one of the performers, meeting him the night before his way home, inquired where his booth was located as she and her mother wanted to have the privilege of watching the performance sitting comfortably inside his booth. That evening before the performance she came to the lodge with corn bread, coffee, and dry meat. The errand man directed her, going past the first, second, and third booths on the north side and entering the fourth. (He made careful note of what food she would bring to see if he wanted to claim a share after the dance.) Now the girl and her mother were seated inside the booth as the crowd packed in to the rest of the lodge. After this performance the doctors would have a free day, then another performance and still another free day and then a second Big Dance outdoors. After this second Big Dance, instead of just the nighttime performances and free intervals, another kind of outdoor performance was introduced—the Dance of the Scalped Ones.

Instead of animals, the actors in the Dance of the Scalped Ones were the spirits of those who had been scalped by the enemy. Everything was done to develop a mood of weirdness. Old Lady Tsitawa, head of the black-tailed deer lodge, wore a short skirt of black tanned hide and a

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tanned-hide shawl. The other actors impersonating the *kitsahuruksu*, the scalped ones, were plastered all over with mud, including a thick plastering of mud on their heads and all over their faces. As they approached they looked like a veritable mud bank.

A big crowd had gathered outside the lodge in anticipation of the performance. The two drummers ran out first and putting their drums between their knees, sat facing each other. As they began to beat the drum, a crowd of scalped ones ran out of the Doctor Lodge. The drumming was in all sorts of irregular beats and the little boys were frightened when they first saw the scalped ones approaching. They motioned erratically and jumped every which way in scary ways. The drummers were singing "Scalped-Ones-Speech":

Hiru-ribi here-is
Hiru-ribi here-is, *wakarawi* (speech)
Hiru-ribi, hiru-ribi, wakarawi
Kitsahuruks-pakarawi scalped one-speech
Kitsahuruks-pakarawi

The song was sung to an irregular tune and as soon as the drummers had finished the song, they all ran suddenly into the lodge and just as suddenly out again, the drummers again coming out and sitting facing each other, singing the Scalped-Ones-Speech with the crowd of actors running out after them. This running in and out was repeated four times and on the fourth round the actors all came out dancing backward, making peculiar motions and finally falling down. Even the drummers fell and kicked over their drums (water drums made of a hollow log.) At last they looked up dazed and as soon as they became aware of the people around, they jumped up and ran back into the lodge.

No one would provide a meal for "Scalped-Ones." As everyone knew, "They were the biggest thieves and stole anything they could get a chance to!" They ate in their booths whatever donations of corn had been made. "As for dry meat, they would provide it for themselves if they could steal some."

Between the second and third Outdoor Big Dance, there were one or two of these special outdoor Scalped-Ones dances with a performance in the night indoors intervening. Afterward the third Big Dance was given, and then after that the two nighttime performances with free days intervening.

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BREACHES OF THE DOCTORS' RULES

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The Young Doctor Decides to Eat Food at Altar —the Hypnotizing That Follows—the Younger Men Hypnotize Big Bear—This Power of Pawnees Discussed

After the third Big Dance, everyone was getting tired, especially the errand men. The individual doctors had various matters to attend to at home, and even the main doctors had to leave the lodge at some time during the day. One day the main doctors were all off resting and had left one of the younger doctors sitting in Big Doctor's place so that he could watch the things at the altar. While he was sitting there, a donation of corn and soup was brought in. Some of the other doctors in the lodge decided they would like to eat some of it right away. The young doctor at the west decided that, after all, since they were hungry, they should eat some of it. He asked three of the others to join him at the west and ordered the errand man to serve them and also the other doctors that were in their booths. They made a small offering of the corn to the powers and then proceeded to eat. 756 784

Finally, when some of the other doctors came in and found they had eaten some of the food that was donated for all of them, they became indignant. They went about the fireplace, quivering and waving their eagle-wing fans and hypnotized the offenders. Brave Shield who was the first to come in, hypnotized the man who had been left in charge of the things at the altar. He caused him to come around the north side of the fireplace and made him fall so that he hit his head against the pillar of the lodge. Then he made the offender get up and come outside and fall down, where he was left on the ground with blood coming out of his mouth. The other two doctors who had come in at the same time as Brave Shield, 756 784 787

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756 784 787 spirited out the others who had been eating the corn and also the errand man who had served them. They fell down outside in the same way as the first man. When the first recovered from his trance, he came inside and sat down in Big Doctor's place at the west. The other three also came out of their trance and resumed their places next to him. The others who had eaten the corn also began to recover and to run into their booths. Those at the west had not yet been dismissed by the angry doctors.

Brave Shield and the other doctors went back to their booths, but the young doctor at the west was angry in his turn and decided to take out those who had hypnotized him. He picked up the eagle-wing fan from among the sacred objects at the west and, going about the fireplace, spirited Brave Shield outside. He did the same to the other two. He then went back into the lodge and again sat down at the west, telling his three companions they could go back to their booths if they wanted to. The three he had spirited out now went back to their booths and the whole affair was ended. When Big Doctor heard about it on his return, he simply laughed at the whole affair.

756 784 Big Bear who was the errand man on the south side was absent from the lodge for about three days. Three of the younger men decided to get him to come back. The enterprise was initiated by Might-Be-Chief, son of Old-Man-That-Chief. He was about fifteen or sixteen years old at the time, and he was sent around on so many errands in Big Bear's absence that he began to resent it. "Big Bear ought to be doing this," he thought, "I'll get him back." Big Bear, on his part, was pretty tired by this time and wanted a rest. Might-Be-Chief tried to enlist help from two young men, Fox Chief and Man Chief, but Fox Chief demurred, saying, "He's our uncle. We can't do that to him." But they were finally persuaded by Might-Be-Chief's argument that he ought to be there, and they all went to Big Bear's lodge.

756 Big Bear was sitting on top of his lodge when they got there and they said, "Look at him—the way he sits there as if he had nothing to do!" Then all of them walked back and forth before his eyes and then all three waved fans in front of him until he rolled off the earth lodge. When he got up they made him follow them as they ran, pushing and twisting him around any way they wanted to. Finally when they got to the water they caused him to roll in and wet his buffalo robe and all his clothes. When he got home, he gave his clothes to his wife and dressed in whatever dry clothes he had and went back to the Doctor Lodge. He was furious and went straight to the Elk Booth spiriting Might-Be-Chief outside. Then he went to the Bear Booth and first took out Fox Chief, then coming back again for Man Chief. The three young doctors didn't mind, as they had succeeded in getting Big Bear back to his post in the Doctor Lodge.

Sometimes when a doctor went home at night he went to asleep with

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his wife and then the doctors might go after him in this way. They would spirit him out onto the dance grounds outside the Doctor Lodge; then he would go home, get his buffalo robe, and return. 756

From these instances it should be clear that the Pawnee preoccupation with illusionism, hypnotism, and suggestion was neither mere theater nor pure ritual. The power of trance induction was regarded as a threat and a means of control. Possibly the hunter found in it a method of communication with the wild animals and control over them. It is very evident that it was considered a way of immobilizing the enemy. Trance induction was called "fighting" or "shooting at the image or shadow," and illusionism by sleight of hand as a milder form of psychological control was called "playing" or "romping" as of children. Our present preoccupation with psychology and psychosomatic problems should point the way to its connection with healing. The cultivation of these psychological states in the Doctor Lodge was obviously something more than pure supernaturalism. 756 787 [626]

The final episode in the Opera was a contest between the Buffaloes and the Bears in which the Buffaloes reduced the Bears psychologically to mere puppies, and in this way the Buffaloes are no longer afraid. 756 796 536

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THE CLOSING EPISODE OF THE DOCTORS' GRAND OPERA

Contest between Bears and Buffalo Clown Warriors—Description of the Ceremony—the Closing Speech by Big Doctor—the Dismantling Begins

• 756 796 536 THE MONTH-LONG GRAND OPERA of the doctors ended with a closing performance inside the ceremonial lodge after the fourth Big Dance. Its main feature was a contest between the Bears and the attacking Buffalo Clown Warriors, dressed in mock war costume and led by members of the Buffalo Cult, with John Buffalo, Heavy Trophies, and others playing the several parts. They wore war bonnets made of corn husks and carried spears made of sticks decorated with corn husks to represent feathers. Their shields were also of corn husks, and they made a "chief's medal" for their chief Clown out of the round cover of a tin can. Everyone knew that on that evening the Clowns were going to stab the Bear with their sticks and "make a man of him." The young Bears were released from trance by their leader, Angry Horse, who had also "to awaken" himself. This was the final act.

On the last night the crowd surged into the entryway to see the performance. At the southeast near the wall stood a crowd of Clown-warriors wearing their corn-husk war bonnets with their chief standing proudly at the head of them with his spear. On the north side stood the party of the Bears. Angry Horse was the leading figure of the Bear Party. His face was blackened and he wore a wreath of cedars around his head. In his hand he carried a big rock tied to a string. (My informant did not know what he represented, but people said that his blackened face indicated that he knew everything.) Next to the leader were the two Bear Doctors of the second grade—Strikes-the-Enemy, lieutenant to Angry Horse, and Misery, Son of Sitting Hawk. These men had no other costume than a long

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pole in the left hand of each and a cedar branch "fan" in the right. The two junior members of the Bear Lodge, Fox Chief and Man Chief, were to be the direct object of the attack and they remained inside the Bear Booth dressed in their bearskin costumes.

The show began with the Clowns. John Buffalo addressed the Clown chief who stood there proudly oblivious of anyone or anything that was going on around him:

"Say Chief, I heard that other tribe say the Bear is going to come around. Over there, there's a bluff, and a Bear is coming there." "I know that but they're nothing but raccoons," said the chief. Then another fellow addressed him saying, "The other tribe is excited there because they say the Bears are coming." "Bear—talk about Bear—I could ride right on it any time I want to!" Next one of the Clown-warriors went and sat down next to the witch woman. He told her what was going to happen "over there" and he made everyone laugh. He said to her, "I heard the people over there say the Bear is going to come. Do you believe it? But the chief says he was up there and there is nothing but a raccoon in there—not a Bear. Are you afraid of Bears? Well, I guess if they come, I'm going to get one."

After this byplay with the witch, the Clown-warrior rejoined his group. Now the action moved to the Bears. All the other doctors came out of their booths. The Bear subleaders, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, pushed their long poles into the Bear Booth to tease out the two Bears who are still inside. When they started to come out of their booth, the Wolf (played by He-Kills-a-Person) came around and got between the two Bears so that their way was blocked. They tried to catch him, but he jumped away with a quick motion and this made them all the more furious. In their anger, they came out of the booth, one at a time. First one came backing out and then the other one emerged head forward. All the doctors began to move about to blockade their escape. The Bears were very angry and they blew and puffed and the bristles on their necks rose straight up.

The Clowns way over on the other side said, "I got hold of his foot now!" John Buffalo said, "I'm holding their legs. They're nothing but raccoons!" Another clown chimed in with, "Oh, they're puppies—nothing but puppies!"

The Bears tried to escape and the crowd tried to blockade their way. The Clowns got caught between two groups of them. Then the doctors, Clowns, and everyone ran out of the lodge except one Clown that got stuck between the two Bears. He didn't know where to go so he looked around and saw that the serpent's mouth was big enough to get in. So he crawled in there, breaking all the teeth. Then he stuck out

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his head, looking all around. When the two Bears finally left the lodge, he got out of the serpent's mouth.

Outside the Clown-warriors were all yelling, "They're over here. There're nothing but little bits of puppies." Soon Angry Horse, the chief Bear Doctor, came staggering into the lodge, circling the fireplace as if he were drunk. He was carrying a rock tied to a string, and every now and then he would hit one of the house posts with it as he went around the fireplace. Next his lieutenants, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, entered singing and holding their long sticks and cedar-branch fans. Next came the four main doctors who went to their place in the west and stood there holding their eagle-wing fans. In front of them at the west of the fireplace facing toward the east, stood Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, making sweeping and jerky movements with their cedar-branch fans. They were calling in the members of their own Bear Lodge who were still outside, with the assistance of the two main doctors who were standing behind them to reinforce their efforts with their eagle-wing fans.

Now one Bear comes backing in and the other comes in head foremost, one going around the north side of the fireplace, the other around the south side. The doctors, including those at the west, all try to get out of the way of the Bears, while Big Doctor reminds Pipe Offering to fill his pipe to get ready for the smoke offering.

Angry Horse, the Bear leader, was still staggering back and forth around the fireplace carrying a big stone on a string. When the Bear that was approaching from the south arrived at the west, Angry Horse was waiting for him there. The Bear fell down and he jumped over him and smashed him on the forehead with the big rock he was carrying. As soon as the prone Bear had been hit, Big Doctor told Pipe Offering to light up his pipe and offer the mouthpiece to the forehead of the prostrate Bear twice, then once to his chest (windpipe), then to his right palm, his left palm, and one to each of the soles of his feet. The whole procedure was repeated with the Bear that was approaching from the north side and the two Bears lay facing each other at the west. As soon as he fell, Pipe Offering had also "smoked" the second Bear in the same way as he had the first. Angry Horse was signing, "This is the way I do when I get angry!"

As the two Bears lay limp and lifeless at the west, the two main doctors assisted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy carried first one and then the other into the Bear Booth.

During this special act of the leader upon the two junior Bears, the rest of the doctors and spectators had remained outside. Now first the doctors, followed by the spectators and the Clowns in the rear, filed back into the lodge. The Clowns talked about what they did out there. They were saying, "Oh, I got hold of him by the leg and just shook

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him around a little bit." "Oh, I got on him like a horse. He's a good runner." 756 796

By this time the Bear leader, Angry Horse, was all crumpled up and quieted down. Standing at the west of the fireplace facing east, he warmed his rock over the fire and then went to his seat near the Bear Booth at the northeast of the Doctor Lodge. There he removed his whole costume, including the cedar wreath, leaving only his blackened face. Now the two ex-Bears, Man Chief and Fox Chief, also came out of the booth without their Bear costumes. Man Chief went to the north of the fireplace, extending his right hand over the fire, then putting it on top of his head. Then he did the same with his left hand. He went through the same procedure with his abdomen and also his knees as he stood up. At the south of the fireplace, Fox Chief did the same thing. Now both men returned to their Bear Booth, Man Chief directly from his station at the north and Fox Chief from his south station around the west and north. 536

This was the closing act of the whole show, and now Big Doctor made his final address to them all. He said, "Now spectators, young men, women, now you have seen, during these several nights, this, 'our playing.' Young men, tribespeople, now I am through with this playing of. ours." (He included the audience as well as the doctors in his statement, expressed through the grammatical first person, plural inclusive form, *ti-wi-rikuhuritsa-witsat*, "this-now-it us all-complete." He thus acknowledged the help of the spectators in examining the paraphernalia when offered to them to affirm that they were authentic.) "Now that's all." This was the signal for all spectators to leave.

That night the doctors would take the first step toward dismantling the ceremonial appointments of the lodge. Each of the doctors would bundle up the sacred objects he had used in carrying out his performance and wrap them in a skin cover to form a long-shaped bundle. These must be taken to their respective homes that evening. The four doctors at the west would wrap up everything pertaining to the Doctor Lodge in general—the loons and other birds, etc. That night only the four leading doctors would remain in the lodge, sending home their bundles with the errand men. 756 796 346 778

Very early next morning all the doctors would return so that they could remove and dismantle all the special ceremonial figures and structures they had built. Insofar as possible these would be carried intact to the water where they would be deposited in a certain position, approximating their position in the ceremonial lodge. The serpent figure, the witch woman, and the cedar would be carried out as they were and the sticks of the booths used to make them into a booth in the bottom of the creek. While the Bear ceremony was going on, some men had been delegated to find a suitable place for this. 756 796 778 532

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DISMANTLING THE CEREMONIAL DOCTOR LODGE

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Ceremonial Objects Are Dismantled—All Things Carried to Creek—Serpent Placed in Water within Curved Fence—an Additional Hypnotic Content—a Banquet Given—the Final Details Settled

• 756 796 778 532 THE FINAL PHASE of the Doctor Lodge was the removal of the figures they had built and the animal booths. All these things had to be deposited at the bottom of Beaver Creek in an appropriate order and fastened in place. It took about a hundred people, including the sixty doctors, to do this work. For the final banquet that they would share, they used six or seven containers of dried buffalo meat and an equal number of buckets of corn.

The night before, while the Bear ceremonial had been going on, a number of men were sent to choose the place in Beaver Creek where they would set up their things.

756 796 778 431 532 During the ceremony and as the figures were being carried out, people offered them gifts. These were placed in the water with the figures. Once, while the performance was going on, a woman made up her mind to give a gift to the serpent on behalf of her son. She took a piece of calico and as she entered the lodge, opened up the cloth and dragged it across the floor, placing it on the inside of the serpent's neck. The errand man came over and took the calico to one of the four doctors at the west. The doctor set the material aside and came directly to where the woman was standing, walking along the outside of the serpent and jumping over it to where the woman was standing. Now he said, "You have a boy. Maybe someday he will grow up to be a big man and everybody will notice him." The woman left and the doctor returned to his seat.

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When the doctors got in that morning, they detached the figures so that they could be carried to the water. The serpent went first. It was simply pegged to the ground and was freed by pulling up the pegs. The men ranged themselves along both sides of the 60-foot length—the head being pointed conveniently southeast toward the exit. The men waited, ready to lift it up when the signal was given. The witch woman was lifted up and set down on a spread of tanned hide so that they could carry her out on it. The turtle that had been modeled on the fireplace, was crumbled up and also placed on a skin spread.

It took a lot of men to carry out the cedar gently, as it was loaded with gifts that had been placed on it when it was first brought into the lodge. The birds and cutouts suspended from the rafters were left there, because they did not belong in the water. After everything else had been detached, the sticks of the animal booths had to be uprooted, and any woman that wanted to help would carry these things out.

Now the process got under way with the four main doctors leading. Most of the men were dressed only in their breechcloths, although some doctors were foolish enough to wear their buffalo robes and to carry their eagle-wing fans despite the strenuous work they had to do. They made two stops along the way to rest—one about halfway toward their destination and then another one further along. The four doctors had gone ahead and were already in the water, building, out of sticks from the doctor booths standing upright in the bed of the creek, a kind of curved fence open at the east. This was the beginning of a whole structure that would enclose all the objects.

As the serpent lay along the shore waiting to be deposited in the water, people came up and made offerings to it. One person who hoped for long life said, "I give you this. I hope to see you this way a year from now." A mother, giving a gift on behalf of her son said, "I hope to see my boy grow up and be a great man." A mother hoped her two daughters would grow up to be married and have many children. Each girl carried a gift of calico to give and the mother said, "You, serpent, are going to rest here under the water. I want my children to grow up and have many children when they get married." Some people thought the serpent should be identified as a whale and some as an alligator. The latter seems the more likely from the word for it, "dry-tongue." The forked tail somewhat interferes with this latter identification. In this instance the mother was thinking of the fecundity of fish who have many eggs which hatch in large numbers.

Now they placed the serpent in the water, its head resting inside the curved fence the doctors had prepared. The head was pointing upstream (westward) the direction in which all the fish swim. The body extended eastward or downstream. Everyone got into the water and pegged the serpent and its various gifts to the bed of the stream. All the gifts of goods—

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calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water. The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to fall in.

Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls. The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house" —that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

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among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of calico.

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or water monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been represented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members, and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was entirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor Association and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber. In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

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for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*-tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies. The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions. In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840. He states:

> The Maha (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe.
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> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight-

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skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea-

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796 824 825 The wild sage plant continued to be a major feature of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 789 536 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 756 578 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

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As to the public at that time, when the conflict was imminent, some felt a test of power would be welcome between the two organizations, while others felt strongly that it should be avoided.

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How much of the ceremony was basically a Wichita plan and how much Pawnee innovation cannot be entirely resolved, as a number of Wichitas came among the Pawnees and stayed for some time, one of them, Atskiri, remaining for three years and coaching Misery for his role as future leader of the organization. Whatever the details, by 1867, the Deer Dance had become an intricate Pawnee ceremony, following the characteristic pattern with complicated histrionic as well as conceptual features.

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754 would never be able to do it again. Everyone knew that Old Bull was a witch and he was ashamed.

754 The majority of the doctors and the ones that "witched" among the
• 756 Pawnee were men, but there were also women who had both kinds of
562 power. Most commonly they had gotten these from their husbands and begun to practice after their husbands died. When a doctor had a woman patient, he had to take his wife along to assist him; in this way she was bound to learn. If she had a son or a daughter, should they show an interest in the bundle, she would teach them. Among the Wichitas, along with
171 the men doctors, there were a great many women, some of them also
754 witches. They could make rain and by witchcraft cause the rain to stop.
756 Among the Pawnees, Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman (*Ts-*
562 *tixkitawi-ra-wa-hu'u*, "woman-give-leader of a warparty-she-distributes them-gives away"), had learned from her husband and it was said that she slept with a rattlesnake under her pillow and could practice witchcraft. In her witchcraft activities she would more or less confine herself to the affairs of women. Sometimes women fought over the boundaries of their land or the stealing of corn and if the quarrel continued over some time and they came to blows, one might be inclined to "witch" the other. But once it happened that Lone Chief was involved in a quarrel and his mother took it over and got into hostility with another woman on account of it. The issue was something about the distribution of horses after a war raid. A man, Frank Leader, felt that Lone Chief's group had obtained an extra horse in the distribution, unjustifiably. Although Frank Leader was not in the party, he was heard to remark that had he been there, Lone Chief would not have gotten away with the horse. This made Lone Chief angry and somehow the women came to discuss it. The issue was taken up between Lone Chief's mother, War Leader Woman, and the mother of Frank Leader, Lady Lucky Leader, and eventually it shifted to the relative social status of the two women. War Leader Woman cited her unimpeachable aristocratic descent, while Frank Leader's mother was heard to assert that it was no better than hers for she had charge of the Evening Star bundle. Word went around in the gossip channels, and finally Frank Leader got sick and died. Everyone was sure that War Leader Woman's witchcraft was the direct cause of his death. Frank Leader's mother began to curse War Leader Woman. She said, "That's the rottenest thing she could do. Even though her son is a great chief, she still practices witchcraft and kills a man." Some felt that since Lone Chief called Leader's mother, *itahi*, sister, and Frank Leader, therefore, *tiwat*, nephew, in view of the close classificatory kinship, this was really disgraceful. Others were saying, "One shouldn't pick a quarrel with Lone Chief's mother. She's a powerful witch!"

until someone in the lodge happened to get up and see him. Then he went home. 754

The next day the woman was sick in her stomach or her intestines. It seemed she had ague. But the man who had been up the night before said, "I know who witched her. It isn't ague." When she was dying the woman said, "I see him. He has a fan before his face, but I know him. It is That-Chief!"

Many other dark deeds were attributed to That-Chief, as he was the most learned man in the tribe. He was the tribal historian, high priest of the sacred bundles, outstanding elk doctor, and maker of chiefs in the chiefs' council. One situation was rivalry with another old man, Horse Finder (*Huras*), who was called in on a case of illness and then superseded by That-Chief who reversed the original treatment and substituted some of his own. Horse Finder became angry and refused to continue his treatment of the sick man. 754 756 578 [554]

Now each of these two men had to watch himself. Each would keep careful track of the other to see if he were hovering near. He would sleep with the covers over his head in fear that something would be put down his throat by the other one. Even when they just took a walk, they would have to watch carefully. 754 578

The fight was carried right into the Deer Dance. Horse Finder sat at the northwest station and That-Chief at the northeast. After the spectators had gone a private performance was held after midnight. That-Chief asked to be told where Horse Finder was (both men were blind), and then he lit his pipe in the coals of the fireplace and gave it to Horse Finder to smoke. Horse Finder took a couple of puffs and as in the normal course of events, That-Chief tried to take back the pipe, the bowl came off in his hand and the stem stuck between Horse Finder's teeth. Then That-Chief stamped his feet, first one foot and then the other. This was to stir up Horse Finder's stomach. Finally a lot of soft white feathers came out of the end of the pipe stem, and in this way That-Chief knew that he would not be able to harm Horse Finder by projecting a magical pellet of sharp object into his stomach, for the soft feathers he had inside would protect him.

Now Horse Finder got up to retaliate. He stood before That-Chief, stamping twice with each foot in alternation so that he stepped four times, saying "xi^a, xi^i, xi^a, xi^a (hee^a)," with a grunting tone. Then he said to That-Chief, "What have you been doing to my fish?" Finally everyone could see the tailbones of the fish's skeleton coming out of That-Chief's mouth. Then Horse Finder began to pull it out and the sharp rib bones of the fish cut That-Chief's mouth so that his whole

days until his stomach is in order. Then the other four doctors who have sung with the patient are called in and perhaps one or two more, and they speak of the animals and their ways and have a ceremonial smoke and distribute the goods that That-Chief has received in payment. Of the three horses, That-Chief will give one to the owner of the earth lodge where he is living, one he will keep for himself and give one to Horse Finder. The other doctors will note his special generosity, but may explain it merely by the fact that they both have the same bundle powers. Even if they were to suspect, they would not reveal the secrets of their fellow professionals to the lay public.

The Pawnees were thus not immune to the common suspicion that comes to all people in the desperation of sickness, that the doctor is not doing everything possible to cure the patient and that somehow more could have been done if the doctor had willed it.

In view of some of these rather bizarre descriptions, I questioned my informant who was familiar with our methods of gathering evidence and attempting to establish reasonable proof, as to what evidence people had that witchcraft was at the bottom of so much death and sickness among the Pawnees. His reply in substance was that basically they just knew, no proof in our terms being possible. He said: "When men sit around talking, they would talk about these things. They would *know*, but they couldn't prove it."

Rarely would the Pawnees attribute a death to our type of "natural cause." With old people of little social importance, they wouldn't bother to press the question but with anyone of any social position, people were concerned to place the responsibility for the death on the hostility of someone in the community. It was thought that when the person was dying, the hostile person would appear to them as a witch who was hiding his face so that the dying man had to identify him by his body. The dying man or woman would then recognize and name the person. Then the news would get around but no further action would be taken.

The Pawnees recognized that anxiety and hostility were major causes of disease. From the Pawnee point of view, active witchcraft practices were the culmination of sustained, interpersonal hostility and the constant fear of witchcraft represented the anxiety felt in the face of such a threat.

> People got sick to their stomach, or when something stuck them, got blood poisoning, or so the white people call it—but we say, "Someone witched you." Long afterwards if the man recovered, he would be sure to find out who witched him.

The reasoning here being that an important characteristic of his disease —and therefore cause—had been anxiety, and that this could be traced to

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753 754 578 756 some interpersonal hostility in the community whose source he would invariably find if he searched around for it.

The doctor on his part, helped restore a man's confidence while he was sick, by bringing him the friendship of the animals who were entirely outside the human community and to whom he could turn in his distress. This motivation can be seen in the vision of the poor boy, Small, whose position in the human community was threatening and insecure. It was in a council of the animals that he found justice for himself and understanding of his need. He also found, however, that some of his newfound animal friends had temperaments that were prevailingly vicious like the mole and the weasel, and this was a power from outside that he could turn against the human community at his desire. The doctor, therefore, in his knowledge of animals, had a kind of power for evil as well as 756 for good that no one else possessed. "The doctors are all witches. Each 754 one has a different way to witch as well as their other practices." Whether he used this evil power depended upon the temperament of the doctor. As cited in connection with old doctor Angry Horse, "He never got sufficiently angry for that!" and so would never be using this part of his power, but the people suspected that the majority of the doctors gave way to temptation at times, particularly the most ambitious ones. The old doctors were especially suspect, of course.

578 626 554 Interpersonal hostility represented a serious threat to the Pawnee community, particularly in its influential members. As there were no formally organized codes of behavior or courts of justice among the Pawnees, a person had no recourse in the face of personal threat except the expression of public opinion which was by no means readily forthcoming and also it was effective only within the existing social power structure. If possible, self-help was the wisest course. Behaille, in the face of the hostility of Old Bull toward his admission to the chiefs' council, used the method both of exposure and at the same time of mollification at a feast.

571 578 829 626 It was far more vital for the people of the Pawnee community to have a clear estimate of the range of personalities with which they had to deal in their daily lives than it is for those of us who live in larger polities. The pressures between individuals were far more potent than they are in groups where there is a larger and more complete political structure, for beyond the known range of personalities among the Pawnees, there was only the enemy. Interpersonal difficulties might or might not get some public reaction and beyond that there was no organized social machinery to which to appeal. In the social order, therefore, the attitudes, moods and inclinations of the individuals that composed it, were far more significant for the group well-being than in a larger polity, and people kept a closer watch on these personality factors than we are accustomed to doing. They knew where "the trouble spots" were likely to be in

terms of interpersonal hostilities and the specific temper of the people involved. Only in these terms can we understand their sensitivity to these hostilities and the prevalent fear of their personal social consequences. The "witchcraft" atmosphere was a function of this situation. The doctors brought to bear the idea that a person could have unfailing personal allies in the animal community. Thus Old-Man-That-Chief in practicing his performance for the next day's session of the Deer Dance, addressed the bundle of chicken-hawk feathers that he was to make come alive in the ceremony. The bunch of feathers were lying tied up at the ends which pointed toward the fireplace, with the tips toward That-Chief. As he smoked he asked the feathers for their help, saying, "I want you to help me in every way. This is my son and my grandson," who were to assist him. By him sat his son, Herd-of-Horses, and his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, and he passed the pipe to them in turn and pointed the mouthpiece toward the feathers so that they might all smoke together.

Despite these psychological causes, the physical symptoms of illness were correlated by the Pawnees directly with physical objects that had been projected by sleight of hand into the body of the person. It was presumed that the doctor would hover about at night outside the dwelling of his intended victim and act as he did in the Doctor Lodge to send the object into the person. "In the old days people slept with the covers drawn up over their heads so that should they open their mouths, no witch could put anything down into them this way."

The different deadly witch-missiles were thought to produce varying physical symptoms. Uncomfortable and painful "movement" of the stomach was one important effect, and coughing up or vomiting was necessary for their cure.

The procedure for preparing such pellets was attested to by Roaming Leader who said that he had inadvertently been an eyewitness to such a process.

It was after sundown when one could barely see well and there stood That-Chief with his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, along with White Horse near a grave. They had dug it up and That-Chief was showing White Horse that one gets the tough skin of the heel of the corpse, lets it dry out flat, and then greases it with buffalo fat so that it can slide right in. Then it is wrapped up in buffalo wool and painted all over with red paint and tied up real tight and small with horse hair so that it approximates the size of a large capsule. "Then grease it well once more," he said. Now any time White Horse wanted to kill someone by witching, he knew what to do. He put the capsule in among the feathers of his eagle-wing fan, and while he was moving back and forth at the door after midnight doing his witching, he shook his fan so that the capsule flew through the air and into the victim's mouth.

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753 said he could do nothing more about it and wanted to die. Then he got on his horse and tried to make it ride off the high bank, but the horse shied back. However, the rider was catapulted off into the water and when he came out, he was cured. So he found out the cure for this disease.

751 There was a great deal of faith in the virtue of bathing as a preventative
515 and as a cure of disease. "In the old days people used to go and bathe in the creek and take sweat baths and there was no sickness."

751 Finally, it was thought that living on a high bluff was healthier than
753 living in the lowlands.
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They said that in the old days, there was no disease, for the villages were on top of a high bluff, and sickness follows along the creek. Whenever a sickness seemed to be coming, people would move up on top, for there the air was fresh and sickness would not come up there. It only stayed near the creek.

753 In more recent times it was said that many people died of rheumatism and stomach trouble. But from the Pawnee point of view, natural causation of disease and death was a relatively less important aspect of these
• 756 basic human problems. The field of the emotions was considered the
[052] major element in the doctor's calling.

However, despite these other factors, when Otter was about twelve
[757] years old the doctors were able to save his life by direct physical therapy.

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THE DOCTORS CURE THE BOY OTTER

Otter Breaks His Leg—the Doctors Consulted—Their Remedies—the Boy's Instructions for Healing the Wound—Additional Treatments—the Release of the Boy from the Sickness—an Informal Feast—the Gifts to the Doctors

WHEN THE BOY OTTER was about twelve years old, his father Victory Call had died and White Woman was remarried to Shot Arm, who undertook to be a father to the boy. His uncle War Cry continued to take an active interest in his welfare. One fall while they were in the village he was riding on the east road when he fell off the horse and broke the small bone (fibula) of his left leg near the ankle and near the knee. "It all started," he said, "because I had stepped on the ground with that leg where lightning had struck the earth. I thought I was smart!"

The leg was very painful throughout the fall and winter, and then in the spring he was thrown off the horse again. In July his parents called in Old-Man-That-Chief to try to cure him. The old man pressed his thumb against the leg and took out a rock and he thought this was the cause of the pain. But gave up trying to treat it as he didn't seem to be able to do any more with it.

Now while they were out on the summer hunt, the boy stepped into a gopher hole, but he thought nothing further of it. He just went on and caught a bird in the creek and later in the day when he got home he was covered with hives. He felt pretty bad and when his older "brother" Misery asked him what was the matter, he told him that his left leg hurt him. Misery called in Wonderful Old Bull, one of the four leading doctors of the Doctor Lodge, who arrived with four splints tied around with four straps of tanned bison hide that he put around the leg and ankle. But this

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did not help and Wonderful Old Bull gave up, saying that if he continued to try to doctor the boy, he would lose him. So Misery himself tried his own four splints, and because he had power from the deer they were fastened together with tanned deer hide straps. Meanwhile he spoke to the boy of old times and urged him to try to get well. But as soon as the leg would heal, the bone would start coming out again.

Now his uncle, War Cry, took a hand and told his adopted father that Old-Man-Good-Land was a good bone and leg doctor. Good Land was called in on the case and he came with his son-in-law, White Fox, who was his assistant. White Fox came in whistling about and saying, "Clean the room and fix a bed." Good-Land and White Fox sat down next to the boy, one one each side of him, blew some medicine on the leg and tied it up loosely with a clean cloth. When they left, they gave instructions that the boy was to be closely watched so that he did not handle any knives. But the boy had a wooden spool and he wanted to make a little top of it to spin on his hand. War Cry's wife was sitting nearby cutting out a moccasin pattern with a knife and the boy took it against the doctor's orders to make his top.

Now War Cry was considering cutting off the leg, but the boy said he would rather die with his leg than have a short one. He began to get angry and desperate and one day he saw the bone sticking out and he began to pull on it, but it hurt too much and he felt a choking in his throat and so he pushed it back.

When White Fox came back he sniffed about as if he smelled something bad and said something wrong must have happened. The boy confessed about handling the knife against his orders and when they unwrapped the leg it was all swollen. The doctor wanted to leave the case. But War Cry taunted him. Otter was classificatory son to White Fox and War Cry threw it up to him saying, "He's only your son, of course, and if he dies it really doesn't matter!"

Many of the people had gone off on the winter hunt and War Cry urged White Woman and her husband to go along, remaining behind in the village himself to keep the boy warm in the earth lodge and take care of him. When White Fox had gone, Otter confessed to War Cry how he had tried to pull out the bone. War Cry scolded him and accused him of not wanting to get well and of deliberately hindering the doctors. "Well," the boy answered, "My mother and father have gone off on the winter hunt and left me, so they don't care for me anyway." War Cry again scolded him and reminded him of the fact that it was he, War Cry, who had urged Otter's parents to go and that he had elected to stay home just because he wanted to nurse Otter and protect him. He said that the boy ought to get well before his parents got back and surprise them and that then they would be glad.

Next day old doctor Good-Land came in and War Cry told him the

whole story. The old doctor gave him some plants to chew, saying, "You're a man and it won't hurt you. Just take the medicine." Then he told him to turn his head aside and pulled out the bone that was sticking out. He cooked some leaves in water and where the hole was in his left leg, he blew some of the water in. He blew it in again and again and each time he asked his assistant if the water was clear. Finally it was. The old doctor said to the boy, "Young man, your leg will be well in two weeks." Finally the boy did get well except that the leg was somewhat crippled and this distressed his mother, White Woman, very much. Shot Arm mixed some grease with red paint and other medicines and rubbed it well into the leg. In a week or so the leg was better and the boy could walk again. He had suffered a year and a half, falling twice off a horse and stepping into a gopher hole and he had been in danger of having his leg amputated or of losing his life. Now at last he was healed.

For his treatment, Good-Land had been promised a fee of two horses, one from his uncle War Cry and one from his stepfather, Shot Arm, and a quantity of other goods, i.e., three blankets, some squaw cloth to make ladies' dresses, and some red shawls such as were issued by the government at that time. Before he had begun his treatment War Cry had said to the doctor, "If you doctor him, there's a horse over here for you." And Shot Arm said, "If you doctor him, there's also a horse here for you, and some goods." It was a very good fee. One could compare a horse to an automobile in our terms.

One evening the doctor and his assistant announced to War Cry, "Tomorrow sometime I'm going to quit the case. He's all right. He's getting well." As soon as he heard this, War Cry sent one of his wives to call in White Woman and Shot Arm. They would have to have the fee ready for payment next day. But before that, the doctor would release the boy psychologically from his illness. That evening four doctors would come in to sit down at the patient's bed and "sing to set him free." Big Doctor and Pipe Offering, the leaders of the Doctor Lodge were called in to join Good Land and White Fox who had treated the case.

The boy was wrapped in a tent skin and lain crosswise west of the fireplace, his head toward the south and his feet toward the north. The big doctors came in with their gourd rattles and sat at his feet ranged from west to east—Good Land westernmost, White Fox next to him, and then Big Doctor and Pipe Offering. At his head on the south side were his adopted father, Shot Arm, uncle War Cry, and White Woman. Ranged further along the north side were other doctors who had come to witness the ceremony. Good Land addressed Shot Arm, White Woman, and War Cry saying, "The songs that the animals have, these medicine bundles here, the gourd rattles and the eagle-wing fans, are all going to hear their songs through which Otter had been made to get up. Now he is going to get well. It is these songs that we are about to hear that made

752 him well. Now we're going to start to sing." Together in unison the
• 756 four doctors sing:
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First song: Here, here, they got him to get up.
Second song: They got him up and going about.
Third song: They (our forefathers) said, that they (the animals) could get him up.
Fourth song: Now as they, the old doctors said, they have raised him up.

[539] Now they pause and smoke and then take up their gourd rattles and sing again:

1. "When first I came, the bone was broken.
2. "I had to use the eagle wing (*kauk'tu*, "down").
3. "The bone was broken. Just as they told me to do when a bone is broken, one must use soft down feathers.
4. "I call you back now, old doctors of long long ago; when a bone is broken, you can heal it."

They sang three more songs, making eight in all and then they said, "Now we're through."

756 Now they would all be entertained at an informal meal prepared by
574 War Cry's youngest wife, Bird Woman. While it was being served, War Cry and his wives took the host's position at the southeast of the lodge, while the others remained in their places. A woman carried one bowl of food to each of the doctors in succession and then to Shot Arm and White Woman at the west, and all the others, and finally the hosts. A little bread and coffee was at last given to the patient himself. While they were eating people told funny stories or recounted some familiar incidents. Then they went home.

The next evening Good-Land entertained the other doctors in his earth lodge at an informal feast upon the completion of his case and the receipt of his fee. A gift of a blanket was made to Big Doctor and a shawl to Pipe Offering by way of compensation for their participation in the previous night's ceremony. Either that morning or earlier in the evening White Woman had come to Good-Land's lodge, leading the two horses, while one of War Cry's wives was carrying the goods. They were greeted by a woman of the house who came outside, and White Woman said simply, "Here are the horses and the goods to pay for his cure" (*iri-wirawirata*, "that which he has earned or won"). White Woman and her companion turned around and left and the woman of the house tied up the horses and took the goods inside the lodge and piled it up to the east of the fireplace. When the doctors were assembled, Good-Land addressed

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them again mentioning the sacred objects symbolic of the animals and their curative power: "Now today we are here as doctors. The objects you see here, the animals (their medicine); they have consented to have him live. Now White Fox is going to get up and make the smoke offering." Now he lit the pipe and offered it to all the sacred objects and to the doctors themselves, and to the horses outside and the rest of the fee lying east of the fireplace, then to the cosmic "stations" and finally made his presentation of a blanket and a shawl to the two doctors, Big Doctor and Pipe Offering and the ceremony was complete. Good-Land had no wife but was staying with his daughter and he put the goods he had received on her bed. She served each of the doctors a dish of food and then sat down to eat with them. Each of the other doctors made some remarks and then Good-Land made the usual type of closing address: "Now Pipe Offering and Heavy Trophies, and son-in-law, White Fox, and brother Big Doctor, I have this to say: I had this medicine, and these animals have blessed me and they have given us this their goods and the horses that are outside and that are going to carry me about. You doctors have helped me. Now the animals have blessed us. Now we have smoked. Now we have eaten." At this, all got up and left.

The animals, the plants, man's ingenuity and devotion, and the love of his family had cured the boy of his sickness.

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292 554 [531] [461] work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

237 554 825 [411] The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

281 •756 262 Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

237 293 [223] Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

237 554 214 Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

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They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle ceremonies in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *rarahuru*, a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The different doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be provided for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt. Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in supplying the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*kuraxkata karusu*) that had been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *rarahuru* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-wurukti-ti*" ("one

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Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

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In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

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The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

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> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.**

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This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!' " "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things!' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

* Italics mine.

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An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

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See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

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The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

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On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

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Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

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Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home